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ABSTRACT

This document is composed of five essays on various aspects of school desegregation. In "The Community Context of Five Desegregated Schools: Systems of Power and Influence," Mercer Lee Sullivan provides a comparative description of the schools studied and introduces the term "culture contact" to organize his data. In "Coping with Desegregation: Individual Strategies and Organizational Compliance," Jacqueline Scherer and Edward J. Slawski, Jr., make the distinction between desegregation as an event and desegregation as a process. "The Organization and Representation of Social Race Relations in Six Desegregated Schools," by Dorothy C. Clement and J. Michael Livesay, discusses black-white relations and the constraints which shape these relationships. George W. Noblit and Thomas W. Collins explore the economic, political, and cultural contexts of the alienation of black students in "The Social Context of Alienation: New Policy Research on Lower-Class Black Students in Desegregated Schools." In "Integrating the Desegregated School: Perspectives, Practices and Possibilities," H. Andrew Sagar and Janet Ward Schofield distinguish between desegregation and integration using the concepts of assimilation and cultural pluralism. (RLV)

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When Schools Are Desegregated: Problems and Possibilities for Students, Educators, Parents and the Community

Murray L. Wax, Editor

August 1979

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The work reported herein was performed pursuant to Grant No. NIE G 78 0046. Essays were composed by each of the research teams which had participated in the Program in Field Studies in Urban Desegregated Schools of the National Institute of Education. The five essays were edited and integrated by Patricia Rosenbaum. The project was supervised by the Principal Investigator, Murray L. Wax. The opinions expressed herein are those of the various investigators and are not to be attributed to NIE. Program Officer for the project has been Ronald Henderson, Head, Desegregation Studies Section, NIE.

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Preface

By Murray L. Wax

Late in 1977, NIE began to receive drafts of the final reports from the research teams which had participated in the Program in Field Studies in Urban Desegregated Schools. While the authors had tried to sketch the more general implications deriving from their investigations, nonetheless the reports tended to be detailedly ethnographic about a specific site. Moreover, the researchers had felt the need to protect the identities of their sites and the identities and privacies of the participants. Also, it was obvious that the schools studied were among the best within their systems, so that if there were difficulties in the process of desegregation, the particular school was an illustration of a general situation, and not a case that merited individual criticism.

At a meeting in November 1977, agreement was reached that the investigating teams should participate in a small venture toward achieving more general conclusions from the ethnographic specifics of the separate cases. Each team proposed or was assigned a particular topic or theme, with the notion that its members could secure relevant data concerning each of the other sites. Thus, instead of five final reports, each of which might have mentioned something about a topic such as the relationship of lower-class black students to the school, there would be a single essay integrating the findings about the alienation of such students from schools that were supposedly desegregated.

In the production of these essays, there were practical problems because of inevitable limitations on time and money. In an ideal situation, all of the members of the research teams would have assembled together with all of the data in a common location and devoted a number of weeks to the exchanges of ideas and information. Instead, we had to transact the interchanges by correspondence. Again, each of the teams has accumulated from its ethnographic researches quantities of fieldnotes which merit more refined coding and analysis. But, under the pressures of time, and with the requirements of producing reports that could be of use to those who set policies on educational matters, more rapid and superficial procedures had to be utilized. Nevertheless, the findings are noteworthy.

So much that has been written about desegregated schools has been based on rumors, anxieties, and sensationalistic media exposure. In contrast, the essays of this volume are derived from prolonged, careful, and intimate studies. Primarily, the researchers relied upon ethnographic observations, but they supplemented this by structured questionnaires, sociometric tests, and a variety of other and ingenious procedures. As is evident from Sullivan's summary, the five schools are widely distributed throughout the nation, and are situated in different types of communities. Three of these schools (Crossover, Pawnee, Wexler) are situated in relatively new buildings equipped with excellent facilities, and two of these schools began with special and high level curricular programs. Our findings thus derive from the better side of America's schools; the issues here are not incompetence, or corruption, or misfeasance, but the genuine problems of schools that have been assigned the task of coping with the requirement of desegregation.

Working in isolation from each other, each author was led to repeat basic information about the various research sites. In consequence, when the five essays were set together as a unit, the reader was subjected to an intolerable level of repetition.

Patricia Rosenbaum undertook the task of editing the separate essays and eliminating the repetitions. Because of his topic, Mercer Lee Sullivan has provided a comparative description of the various sites, and so his essay has been situated early with that descriptive material left intact, while in the remaining essays it has been substantially deleted.

It proved natural to situate the essay by Sagar and Schofield late in the volume because it attempts to draw conclusions from the separate studies toward educational changes that will achieve integrated schools.

I. The Community Context of Five Desegregated Schools: Systems of Power and Influence

By Mercer Lee Sullivan

One of the great values of ethnographic studies in desegregation research is the revelation of just how different are the local instances of desegregation. Ambiguities in the definition of desegregation resulting from the enormous local variation are so great that we have proposed a heuristic redefinition of desegregation in terms of "culture contact" in order to bring to bear on the understanding of desegregation, the experience of previous scientific investigations of similar phenomena throughout the world. The common factor in desegregation is that groups socio-culturally differentiated from one another are brought together in schools. The number and relative status of such groups differ from one school to another, but in each school there is a situation of culture contact. In the anthropological tradition of culture contact studies, we see culture as arising from the form of the community (Arensburg and Kimball 1965). In many ways, understanding of the desegregation process depends on analysis of the articulation of the organizational forms and administrative processes of schools with the situation of culture contact in the community. Desegregation plans may develop in an atmosphere of tension, but they do not develop in a vacuum. Many parties, from local to national levels, are involved, each with a unique definition of the situation and corresponding agenda.

The case studies on which this volume is based focused primarily upon the building-level school operation and the social interaction of staff and students. They analyze various features of the internal organization of the schools and social relations within the school context. They venture, to some degree, into the community, but this essay will focus entirely on a comparative analysis of the local communities in which the desegregated schools were located, and on the local socio-economic, cultural, political and administrative configurations within which the schools operate. It will also explore the local configurations of interest groups and their agenda in relation to the form of the community, and the outcomes for the individual schools.

Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

Unit of analysis

The ethnographic study of school desegregation necessitates the use of a number of methodological traditions and areas of substantive knowledge in social science. Individual schools are formal organizations and bureaucracies, and may be considered appropriate sites for application of methods of analysis used in studies of other types of bureaucracies such as businesses, governmental agencies, hospitals, armies, prisons and factories. Studies of such institutions are numerous and offer much guidance in terms of both substantive knowledge and methodological sophistication. It has been argued, however, that organizational sociology has had less experience with educational organizations than with others, and that the methods developed for the study of factories and other institutions in the private sector cannot be imported wholesale for the study of schools (Calhoun and Ianni 1976).

In particular, the study of school desegregation demands that the unit of analysis be extended beyond the boundaries of the school to include the community and the culture of the participants. Arensberg (1942) pointed out that roles are imported from the community into the organization, and argued that organizational sociology should include this level of analysis, but this prescription has not been followed until fairly recently. The study of school desegregation demands a conceptual framework that includes culture and community on two grounds. First the "product" of schools is the inter-generational transmission of culture. We must ultimately evaluate schools in terms of the competence which they impart to students for participation in adult roles in the labor market and in civil life. Second, the project of desegregation involves bringing together students of different cultural backgrounds. We must focus our attention on both the behavioral and associational correlates of these cultural differences, especially on their effect on access to educational resources as well as on the socialization of cross-cultural attitudes (that the desegregated school engenders).

Interactions of students and staff in desegregated schools must be understood in terms of the behavioral expectations that they impart from their lives in the larger community, as well as in terms of the task-related constraints imposed by the school organization. Organizational sociologists in the past have concentrated their analyses of "informal organizations" on the responses of participants to the rules and roles prescribed by the formal organization. To the organizational framework for understanding interactions, we must further adduce some framework for understanding the role and rule structure of the community. This research tradition is to be found in anthropology.

In anthropology, the definition of the community as a *unit of analysis* is much debated, and this question has relevance to the topic at hand. In seminal definitional attempts, Conrad Arensberg (1961) argued that a community is not merely a matter of geographical boundaries or even of sentimental ties. Rather, its boundaries are to be determined by its completeness as a sample of the culture. The community unit must contain all the roles needed to perpetuate the culture. Neither a dormitory suburb nor a monastery, for example, could be considered a community since they recruit their members from a wider and more complete unit. A complete community contains two sexes, three generations, and all social classes and groups which are defined in the culture. The obvious problem with this formulation is that modern society is so specialized and interdependent that a strict interpretation of the definition would allow but one global community. Julian Steward (1955) took exception to this overly strict definition, proposing that the local unit be considered in relation to higher levels of government and influence. The local unit was then related to higher levels by specifying "levels of socio-cultural integration."

Desegregation studies make practical demands on this academic debate. Without trying to resolve the issue finally, we may point out some of the problems of unit of analysis and suggest some provisional solutions. First, desegregation must be seen as a national movement and policy which affects the previous autonomy of local decision-makers. Second, the operant unit to be discussed as "the local community" should represent some relatively complete socio-cultural unit. Thus, in cases where migration across political boundaries is associated with the desegregation process, the community unit should be defined to include the entire metropolitan area in which the process is occurring. The word "community" is not used to describe one segment of a total unit, such as "the black community." In this essay, we will speak of interest groups within the community, and of neighborhoods, as geographical subdivisions.

Change as political process

Although organizational sociologists have studied the relation of culture to organizational behavior, and some anthropologists have begun to apply ethnographic methods to the study of schools and other organizations, it is the social historians who have posed the most interesting questions about the relation of culture to organizational form. These arguments have developed particularly in the study of educational history. Michael Katz (1971) and others have argued that the very organizational form of the modern educational system is the historical result of societal reaction to the cultural differences in the population resulting from successive waves of immigration. Such features as political autonomy of school governance, centralization, certification systems, ability grouping and vocational education, which are often taken as "given" by those whose lives they affect, came into being historically as a result of societal mandates for social control and socialization of a productive work force.

Another aspect of educational systems in this country has been the salience of education as a political issue, and as an arena for social conflict. The function of educational institutions in the transmission of culture makes them vulnerable to disruption in times of socio-cultural change. Demands for change are made in institutions charged with inculcating values and skills needed for participation in society when those values and skills are changing rapidly. Desegregation obviously represents another example of such demands for change in the form of educational organizations. In such times, the assumptions that ways of doing things are "given" and somehow natural are harder to maintain. Conflict over how the school is to be organized and what should be taught is prevalent. The relations among interest-group politics, the organizational form, and the social functions of schools become more noticeable and more controversial. Thus, desegregation of the schools may be seen as a political process which results in a change in the formal organization of the schools.

Community culture and institutional process

Many theoreticians have described the American political process in terms of pluralistic interplay of competing institutions (Tocqueville, 1954; Coser, 1964; Sills, 1968). In these theories, the link between the community, its economic, social and political organization, and the course of public policy is the complex of *voluntary associations and interest groups* which provide collective channels of interaction for the various categories of society. If, in fact, the form of schools and the development of the local labor market and political structure are related, then the local variations in the desegregation process should reveal some of these connections. The utility of such an analysis could be great. A systematic comparison of local variations in the form of community types of cultural differences and their effects on the desegregation process may begin to show us what can and cannot be expected under various circumstances.

The works of Coleman (1966) and Jencks (1972) have left a heritage of pessimism in educational research. If schools merely pass on the inequalities of the wider society, how can desegregation hope to succeed? Yet the broadness of such statements about the relation of school and society is as unsatisfactory here as it is in the formulations of Katz (1971) and the revisionist historians; our society is characterized by great diversity in region, class and cultural groups, as well as in organizational arrangements. Broad theories about the school-society interface, whether those of Coleman (1966), Jencks (1972), Katz (1971) or Bowles and Gintis (1976) neglect this diversity. Having concluded that there is a relation between education and class, we must go on to discover the specific transactional arrangements, the unique local processes by which school and society are articulated, the ways in which conflicts arise and are mediated, and the organizational results of these processes.

In this essay, we will focus on the organizations and interest groups which influence the course of desegregation in the study of communities, describing the historical process of desegregation and the identity and role of the groups which contributed to the plans. Our primary interest will be the description and comparative analysis of the way in which the interplay of interest groups in the desegregation process set the stage for the interaction of students and staff within the schools.

The Schools and Their Communities*

Sheridan High School in New York

The history of public education in New York has been influenced since its inception by the waves of immigration and resulting demands on the schools (Ravitch, 1974). The first public school system was initiated in the 1850s amid political struggles between Irish and German Catholic immigrants and the ruling Protestant elite. When the Catholic groups were not able to obtain public funds to run their own schools, they began building their own system. Over the next half century, however, the immigrant political machines gained control of municipal politics, including the public school system which was closely tied to ward politics. About the turn of the century, the next massive wave of immigration from eastern and southern Europe precipitated another major battle over control of the schools. The reform movement of that era, representing the politically displaced Protestant elite, took power briefly before the First World War and centralized the school system, introducing modern bureaucratic organization and teaching methods. The political machines shortly regained control of the city, but the removal of the school system from local politics was accomplished and would not be challenged until the 1960s. Since the days of the reform movement, the upper classes, the very rich and powerful national and international ruling class of managers and owners, have for the most part retreated from direct participation in local government and its institutions, including the schools.

Immigration into the city diminished between the imposition of strict quotas in 1924 and the 1940s when a new wave began, bringing newcomers from the American South, Puerto Rico, the Caribbean and the Pacific Orient. Soon the schools were caught up again in a controversy which was eventually to alter the political structure of control. The city instituted its first desegregation plans soon after the first *Brown* decision, but none managed to achieve racial and ethnic balance in the schools. Segregation in the city was *de facto* rather than *de jure*, based on segregated housing patterns. The late 1950s saw the emergence of many interest groups in both black and white neighborhoods, attempting to influence desegregation decisions. Successful boycotts of the schools were staged by both sides.

By the middle and late 1960s, a change in strategy had been adopted by minority groups. After years of unsuccessful "desegregation," a new demand went up for decentralization and community control. This led to the most bitter struggle over the schools in recent history, which has influenced both the attitudes of the community and the organizational form of the schools to the present. In 1968, the teachers' union went on strike to protest the actions of an experimental community-controlled district in transferring several white and Jewish teachers. The system was staffed predominantly by white and Jewish people (and remains so), and the racial-ethnic polarization developed in that time still remain. The strike thus set the stage for the decentralization legislation of the following year. During the early stages of planning, the teachers' union had supported decentralization, but it switched its position drastically during the course of events that led to and occurred during the strike.

In the 1970s, new issues have arisen which complicate the array and strategies of the various educational interest groups. Minority groups have been greatly fragmented in their interests. The issue of bilingual education, for example, has split black and Hispanic interests. The battle for desegregation still goes on in many neighborhoods of the city even though much energy is also spent trying to gain or maintain control of the elected community boards. Federal enforcement of desegregation plans has finally caught up to the large northern cities and sanctions have been threatened against the city school system with regard to both groupings of pupils and hiring and assignment of teachers. The proportion of minority teachers compared to the proportions in the general population in New York is one of the lowest in the country.

Sheridan High School as a desegregated school must be understood in the context of the above history. The student population of Sheridan

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*Except for New York and Memphis, the names of all schools and communities are pseudonymous.

during the years of the study was approximately 40 percent Spanish-surnamed, 25 percent black, 15 percent Oriental, and 20 percent white. This mixture for the most part derives from the patterns of residential transition in the surrounding neighborhood. That area of the city has, over the past 20 years, changed from a predominantly Jewish and Italian population, representing the older waves of immigration, to a newer population group of blacks, Hispanics, and Asians. The Chinese neighborhood has increased five-fold since the 1965 changes in U.S. immigration law. One segment of Sheridan's population, however, does represent a specific piece of desegregation planning, although the decision to pair two feeder schools in a distant black neighborhood with Sheridan was made nearly 20 years ago when the Sheridan neighborhood was still predominantly white. These students ride the subways to school. Most other students walk or use the regular city buses.

Almost no one in the school is even aware that the school participates in a "desegregation" plan of any sort. Rather, the school is more conscious of the fact that it does *not* participate in the decentralization plan. Students come into Sheridan from feeder schools controlled by locally elected community boards. Both of the community districts which contribute students to Sheridan have been controlled by militant minority political factions which are in conflict with the central bureaucracy. The teachers' union is heavily polarized against these community boards, in part because the community boards have a certain amount of discretion in hiring outside the union-backed lists. The union lists in many teaching categories have been closed for years, limiting job access for the more recently-arrived minority groups. Sheridan, therefore, has very few minority staff members in comparison to its feeder schools.

As a result of its complex administrative and political position in relation to the rest of the city and the school system, Sheridan, as in individual schools, is largely isolated from the community which it serves. It is controlled through a large, central bureaucracy, and its parents' organization is tiny, unrepresentative, and inactive. Individual parents have little interaction with the school or knowledge of what happens to their children there. There are two exceptions to this pattern, however. Several of the teachers and staff members live in the same areas of the community as the families of the dwindling population of white students, families who are more middle class than are those of the minority students. There is some direct contact between the school and these families. The other exception is the Chinese population, for whom the school has special symbolic significance twice a year. One occasion is China Nite, a student-produced show that is well attended by the Chinese population; the other is graduation, at which Chinese students normally receive a majority of special honors, despite their small proportional representation in the school. Sheridan, like many urban schools, does not have a prominent symbolic place in the total community. It has no football team, for example, and there are no other functions comparable to China Nite for other segments of the community. The two exceptions to the school's general isolation noted here are correlated with the much greater academic success of white and Chinese students, over black and Hispanic students in Sheridan.

If Sheridan is isolated from direct parental involvement, however, it is constantly affected by outside forces with respect to the issue of providing equal educational resources to all racial-ethnic groups. Community-wide interest groups are constantly manipulating the courts on these issues. Bilingual programs for Spanish and Chinese speaking students have been introduced. A large part of the curriculum is financed through Federal compensatory education programs. Strict tracking has been forbidden, although complex systems of ability grouping still exist and are becoming increasingly stratified. These mandates from above, however, are implemented within the school in isolation from direct parental involvement. In this atmosphere, the effects of the mandates easily become distorted from their original intentions. Because the use of IQ tests for placement, and the concomitant system of tracking were branded as discriminatory, the powers above have specifically disallowed their usage. The school's curriculum has, if anything, become more stratified. On one hand, it has compensatory programs and business and vocational programs, while, on the other hand, it has, on its own initiative, created several elite curricula.

The white population of Sheridan, and of the city schools in general, has been dwindling rapidly since the 1950s. Desegregated education was abandoned by many at the point where minority students became a majority in the system. The proportion of minority students in the public schools now is much higher than the proportion in the general population. This discrepancy reflects several factors. First, minority members are immigrants to the city and are usually younger than the members of more established groups. Second, there has been a movement out of the central city by the white population. Finally, many among the remaining middle-class white population disdain the public schools. Private school attendance has increased greatly over the past 20 years; private schools are now middle class as well as upper class institutions.

Wexler Middle School in Waterford

Waterford is an old industrial city. Its population came from much the same sources as that of New York: successive waves of immigration, first from Europe, and more recently, from the American South. About 20 percent of the population of the city is black. The political economy of Waterford differs from that of New York in that it is more dependent on heavy industry — in contrast to New York's combination of multinational headquarters, communications industries, and light manufacturing — and the ruling class elite has never retreated from local politics. The black middle class does have a voice and blacks are represented on the school board.

School segregation in Waterford has historically been *de facto*, based on residential patterns which were and are highly segregated. The desegregation battle did not really begin until the late 1960s, when the state began to apply pressure to the city school system. More recently, federal sanctions have been applied, resulting in the loss of some federal funds. No local comprehensive desegregation plan has yet been found acceptable by the state, for reasons which involve both severe residential segregation in the city as well as the strategies of black interest groups. The board of education's black members have voiced support for desegregation, but they have always opposed mass busing. Given the residential patterns, no feasible alternative exists. Some efforts have been made to build new schools between black and white areas to allow open enrollment, but such measures are not adequate to the overall problem. Given their opposition to busing, the strategy of the black community has been to seek improvement of educational resources available to them. The black schools in the city are significantly more deteriorated than white schools.

It is in this context that Wexler Middle School was opened as a magnet school. The new school was located between black and white neighborhoods, and initially recruited its student body through open enrollment, aiming at roughly equal proportions of blacks and whites. In addition, the new school has an excellent physical facility and included several special academic programs. It was explicitly designed to serve as a model of integration, combining a balanced student body and faculty with the best resources available in the system. Its program was also designed to promote integration. The avoidance of obvious ability grouping and the provision of a large variety of extra-curricular activities were designed with these goals in mind.

Wexler has been highly visible in the community as a result of the publicity presenting it as an intended model of integration. These expectations had definite results on the internal organization of the school, particularly with regard to the phenomenon of underplaying racial identity (see Clement and Livesay, this volume, for a fuller discussion).

Both black and white community groups primarily viewed Wexler as a highly desirable resource and sought to secure access for their children. Further, the racial percentages of Wexler's student population have been highly visible since the school opened, and black and white groups have seen themselves in competition for places in the school. Whites have never demonstrated a high level of support for integration, but the black community has been split by its dual desires for integration and for quality educational resources. The oppositions and strategies of interest groups have been evident in the pressures and controversies surrounding the decision-making as to how the student body should be recruited.

Before the school opened, both black and white groups exerted pressure to increase the percentage of places allowed them. Some segment of the black population has always been frustrated; the combination of racially-balanced open enrollment and excellent facilities and programs resulted in many more black applicants than white, given the greater benefit Wexler offered blacks, who had been relegated to inferior schools. (Also, many white parents were fearful of a desegregated school.) Consequently, more blacks were refused admission.

During Wexler's second year of operation, the open enrollment plan was replaced by a feeder school plan, not because of controversies over racial percentages but because of overcrowding in the school system. The new policy greatly complicated the debates over percentages, increasing the proportion of black students in the incoming sixth grade to nearly two-thirds. It also increased the student population and led to overcrowding in the school, as in the system generally. Some white parents resented this change and called for a return to open enrollment, evidently hoping that the old percentages would be restored. The debate reached such a level that public hearings were held, but the feeder pattern was retained. Rather than being seen as a model of integration and quality education, Wexler now seems to be regarded in some circles as a black school with overcrowding.

The political processes which affected the school took place at the community, not the school, level. Disputes and decisions were publicized in the local papers; community-wide interested groups lobbied; public hearings were held. As a symbol of desegregation-integration, Wexler was responsible to a much larger community than the parents of its students. At the level of the school, there were different pressures from black and white parents. In general, white parents tended to be more critical of the school and intervened in the conduct of activities more than did black parents. In particular, some white parents objected to activities which, they claimed, pursued social goals at the expense of academic work. This "academics first" perspective came from middle and upper-middle class white parents who did not particularly value desegregation, but valued Wexler for its academic resources and reputation. The activities which they objected to, in this case, were discontinued. Pressure on the school from blacks involved not so much specific activities as the more general issue of access. The change from the open enrollment to a feeder school recruiting policy may also eventually affect the attitudes of white parents. Under open enrollment, there was a voluntary attitude about desegregated schools, since parents enrolled their students by choice. This self-selection principle no longer applies in the future.

Pawnee West High School and Pawnee

Pawnee is a medium-sized city, located within the orbit of a large, midwestern metropolis. Its economic base, consisting of three large industrial plants, is more monolithic than diversified. These plants not only provide the most important source of employment to Pawnee residents, they are responsible for the historical recruitment of most of the city's current population. In the 1940s and 1950s, the plants actively recruited migrants from the South, both black and white. Although blacks were segregated in housing and, consequently, in the lower units of the school system, there was only one high school in the community until 1958. Thus, blacks and whites attended at least high school together.

Currently, Pawnee's population is about 10 percent Hispanic, 27 percent black and 63 percent white. Whites and blacks have left Pawnee in recent years, whites moving to the more affluent metropolitan suburbs and blacks going to the central city. The general out-migration can be attributed to the severe economic recession of recent years; the plants suffered difficulty and the town's commercial center declined. During this time, residential segregation also declined. Though much of Pawnee's population is poor, many blacks and the more recently-arrived Hispanics are especially poor and occupy the most dilapidated housing in town. The desegregation movement gave great impetus to minority political organization activities. Receiving aid from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples (NAACP) Legal Defense Fund, representatives of Pawnee's minority community entered a successful action in the federal courts. In the early 1970s Pawnee was instructed to desegregate its schools by a federal court, issuing one of the first such orders to a northern city.

Initially, the school system resisted, claiming that the only feasible method would entail large-scale busing and the costs involved would cause the quality of educational services to decline. Busing, rather than the general quality of education, became a major issue in the town. Numerous interest groups emerged, and attitudes surfaced which had been imported from the South but had been shorn, by the process of migration, of the restraining context of traditional community structure. An overt white racist organization committed terrorist acts which drew national attention to Pawnee's growing political struggle in the schools. More moderate white organizations, though disclaiming any link with the terrorists, demonstrated in large numbers and engaged in maneuvering through legitimate channels to halt busing and desegregation. They also attempted to set up private schools, unsuccessfully for the most part. Busing began on schedule, under much security.

In this context, the school board found itself faced with the necessity to build a new high school — Pawnee West. Everything about the planning of the high school, from site selection, to physical design, to its administration, was influenced by the conflict in the town as well as by the underlying social conditions, and by the process of political change that the controversy over desegregation helped to initiated. By the time the site had to be chosen, conflicts over desegregation had already given considerable impetus to the emerging political organization of the black population. This group exerted pressure to have the new school built in the predominantly black side of town. White pressure groups pushed another site. An eventual compromise resulted in reconstruction on the site of the old school, between black and white residential areas. The fact that black interests were strong enough to necessitate a compromise, however, was seen as a victory.

The architecture of the new school was a response to the fears of whites, particularly those who feared the expansion of adjacent black residential areas. The new Pawnee West was an expensive, modern facility with no windows opening to the outside of the lower stories, designed for maximum physical separation of the school from the community. The inside, however, was poorly designed to facilitate social control, with too many staircases and visually secluded areas. The conflicts between blacks and whites, stimulated by the busing controversy came inside, where the fighting that characterized the opening of the school eventually led to the elimination of lunch periods. Scheduling was also affected by the fact that the original plan of the school had called for a "house" system which had to be abandoned, even though the physical design was based on that form of organization.

The traumatic desegregation process in the city of Pawnee had major repercussions on the community and on the design and administration of the new high school. In time, the school quieted down considerably. Students learned to cope with dangerous back stairways by avoiding them (see Scherer and Slawski, this volume, for detailed analysis of coping strategies). The symbolic and social importance of high school functions such as athletic events and shows, always a salient feature of life in the town, persisted. Both blacks and whites attended these events although they sat in separate areas.

Current attitudes of parents toward the school vary. The school's academic reputation is generally good, and athletic contests and shows are popular. The architecture is alternatively admired for its modernity and deplored as "prison-like." These attitudes can be found among both blacks and whites. White parents, however, have never shown support for integration as such. Black parents support the need for integration, but are often distrustful of the way the school is run, especially of the fact that the expulsion rate is higher for minority than for majority students.

Crossover High School and Memphis

Memphis developed as a commercial and service center, a point for processing the agricultural produce of the Delta region. Its population has been recruited from the stream of agricultural workers displaced from the Delta and seeking wage employment. Memphis has not enjoyed the recent prosperity of the rest of the sun-belt; it has suffered a decline in manufacturing activity and has never managed to develop powerful leverage in the national economy. Its social class structure has followed the traditional southern pattern, with relatively little mobility. A traditional upper class has maintained its control of the town, even though it is not powerful at the national level. The local economy has remained a relatively closed system. The working class population has moved on northward, to be replaced by still newer arrivals from the Delta, while the unskilled, non-unionized jobs that supported this class have been dwindling. Due to several factors, including the long reign of one political boss and the dominance of Baptist churches, which are not highly organized above the congregational level, neighborhood and ward political organization has been slow to develop. Residential segregation has been traditional in the southern pattern, in which black and white streets are interspersed, rather than in the northern model of a large, unbroken ghetto. Segregation in the public schools was *de jure*.

Desegregation was slow in coming to the Memphis public schools. The first attempt to enroll a black student in a white school in the late 1950s was thwarted. In the early 1960s, the NAACP began litigation to have the schools desegregated; the system instituted a "Good Faith" plan which the federal courts found invalid. Meanwhile, the fight to end traditional southern forms of segregation was being waged on other fronts besides education. The black middle class had begun to organize, and many public facilities were desegregated in the first half of the decade. A traumatic confrontation came in 1968 when the all-black sanitation workers union went on strike and Martin Luther King, Jr. was assasinated after having come to support the strikers. The black-controlled municipal employees' union was a major power base in the black community. The strife precipitated by the assasination led to overt racial polarization in the community which has not yet subsided.

In 1969, the school system, realizing that it would not be able to forestall federal court pressure for school desegregation much longer, instituted broad desegregation of its staff. A coalition of black interest groups, then at the peak of its solidarity and influence, presented a series of demands to the school system which covered curriculum reform and balanced pupil ratios and focused primarily on increasing access for blacks to all levels of staff positions in the school system. Although the coalition of black interest groups was fragmented during the negotiations over how much to accept, many of these demands were met. The school board was reorganized with an increase in black membership.

In 1972, Crossover High School, which formerly served only whites, many of them middle and upper-middle class, was paired with a formerly all-black school, located in a stable black neighborhood. The black school, Feeder, became the junior high; high school students from the black Feeder neighborhood went to Crossover which is located in a white neighborhood very near the Feeder neighborhood.

The aftermath of desegregation, in the entire system as well as specifically in Crossover, saw the withdrawal of many white students from the public schools and a corresponding withdrawal of community support for the schools. The low tax rates in Memphis allowed white families who were not wealthy to send their children to private schools. The upper class had relied on private education for years. The social atmosphere of denigration of the public schools made it difficult for many whites to continue to send children there. White churches provided much of the facilities and organizational base for the retreat to private schools.

Initially, Crossover continued to attract even upper-middle class white students, for it had always been a prestigious school with a reputation for college preparation. The school possessed superior physical facilities, and the curriculum was geared to college preparation for the middle and upper-middle classes. The pre-desegregation Crossover staff were experienced and skilled in teaching this kind of curriculum to this kind of student. A black administrator from the formerly black school became principal of Crossover and brought with him other black staff members. From the first, stratification set in within the school. Ability grouping enabled two separate curricula to co-exist in the school: one, college-oriented, serving the middle-class white students; the other, vocationally oriented, serving black and lowerclass white students. White parents and students commanded special treatment in this early period of desegregation at Crossover. The parents had direct access to the higher levels of the school

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system and were able to force the first principal's removal. White, middle-class students, besides enjoying an elite curriculum, were also guaranteed a certain share of the school's honors and offices, even those which were ostensibly awarded by student election. The black Feeder neighborhood also had communication with and influence on the school under the first principal as he and his staff were well known in that neighborhood from their years at the pre-desegregation neighborhood school.

The first principal's ouster was occasioned specifically by white parents' displeasure over a particular math teacher, but it signified a more general loss of confidence in the school by middle-class white parents. The school offered fewer and fewer prestigious pre-college courses; students able to benefit from these courses left the school; the school subsequently could offer even fewer prestigious courses. The white, college-preparatory-oriented teachers also began to leave.

The new principal was also black, but he did not have the connections in the Feeder neighborhood possessed by his predecessor. He took a strict bureaucratic approach to administration, and the school became much more closed to parental and community influence from either black or white groups. The new principal ended the practice of special privileges, which had allowed whites to control certain activities. Numerical ratios gave black students the ability to elect black candidates for positions, and under these racially polarized conditions they did so. White students withdrew from many activities, and white enrollment further declined. Four years after Crossover opened as a desegregated school with equal proportions of blacks and whites, 70 percent of the student body was black.

The importance of school functions such as athletic events and shows as symbolic and social occasions for the wider community also decreased during this period. The pre-desegregation black high school had played a prominent part in the life of the Feeder neighborhood; the pre-desegregation, white Crossover school had also drawn good community participation. After desegregation, however, residents of the Feeder neighborhood were physically separated from their children's high school. White parents withdrew their support of school activities as their children withdrew from participation.

Grandin Elementary School in Bradford

Bradford is a Southern city whose main industry is tobacco processing. In the period after the Civil War, both black and white workers migrated to the city to work in the plants. Several large family fortunes were accumulated from this industry and provided the base of the city's contemporary upper class. A black upper and middle class also exists in Bradford, growing out of successful black entrepreneurship around the turn of the century. Segregation in housing, education, and social services are traditional in Bradford, but the pattern differs from the usual Southern model in that it included a significant black capitalist class.

Though the members of the black middle and upper classes stayed clear of direct political activism until recent years, they have been represented for some time by formal organizations which have taken active roles in advancing the interests of the black population. Much of their effort has been concentrated on education. Even before 1954, under the state's "separate but equal" laws, black interests successfully litigated for more funds to make black schools "equal."

After 1954, black organizations engaged in almost continuous litigation in federal court for desegregation, with some white support from the liberal community associated with a local university, a major employer in the area. The school board, however, responded with stalling tactics. The elimination of *de jure* segregation in itself produced little change in the schools; a "freedom of choice" plan instituted in the 1960s generated little more results. In 1970, the federal court mandated a direct pupil assignment plan for purposes of desegregation.

Interest groups representing blacks and whites of all strata of Bradford society were active in the desegregation process. The organization representing black business interests had initiated the suits; it played an advocacy role throughout. New neighborhood organizations appeared in black and white neighborhoods, including the KKK and "black power" groups in the poorer sections. Some influential whites hired their own lawyer to fight the issue in court. Other groups, representing liberal interests, actively tried to encourage constructive community participation and planning.

In 1975, two events produced a major change in the desegregation process: the federal court ordered a more specific desegregation plan which provided for both pupil and teacher assignment; the method of selection of the school board was changed to a system of direct election. The school system was thus separated from the rest of the municipal political structure. Four of five new board members were black, reflecting the increasing black proportion of the city and city school system population.

The political control of the schools was abandoned by the white middle and upper classes as they abandoned the city school system for the whiter and richer county system which served the developing suburbs as well as some districts of the city. In addition to residential shift of middle-class whites from the central city to developing suburbs, the increase in private school enrollment took many whites out of the desegregated public schools.

Since desegregation, black interest groups have continued to make certain demands of the educational systems. One issue with important implications for desegregation at the school and classroom level has been opposition to more than a minimum of ability grouping in the schools. This opposition has been formalized in district-level policy and reflects concern over the development of discrimination in desegregated schools.

Grandin Elementary School, formerly all white, was paired with a formerly all black school, Maryvale, in 1970. Subsequently, grades 1-3 attended Maryvale and grades 4-6 attended Grandin. The white students primarily were the children of skilled workers of moderate income. The black students came from the families of unskilled and unemployed blacks of a lower income level. White students, as well as teachers, lived within walking distance of the school, but many black students had to be bussed. The principal was white and the majority of the faculty remained white, although some black teachers transferred into the school. Despite the fears of both black and white parents, desegregation was accomplished with few incidents, and safety did not become an issue in the school.

The district-level policy of discouraging ability grouping in the school seemed to have its intended effect on preventing polarization among the students. Although informal association across racial categories was not frequent, few activities in the school were reported to be recognizable as exclusively the province of one racial group. Black parents and teachers, and new teachers generally, have reported satisfaction with the school, although white parents and white teachers who were on the staff before 1970 complain about the direction the school's curriculum and test scores have taken. A greater proportion of the organization's resources is now devoted to remedial efforts.

Comparative Analysis

In comparative analysis of the community contexts of the five desegregation sites, the primary emphasis will be focused on the interest groups that have sought to influence the course of desegregation and the effects of these systems of power and influence on the outcomes in each school. The communities themselves will be compared with respect to the *economic base, social class structure,* and *patterns of residential segregation*. The array of *interest groups* involved in the desegregation process will also be compared in each community. Interest groups will be situated within the social class structure, and the various *demands* and *strategies* of these groups will be explored and compared, including the articulation of local with national level interest groups. The *impact of desegregation upon local communities and their schools at the system-wide level* will be discussed with regard to both the intended and unintended consequences of the goals of various interest groups. Finally, the analysis yielded by the foregoing comparisons will be applied to assessment of the *impact of the community-wide desegregation process on school-level operations.*

Economic base

Let us consider how these five communities compare with respect to their most general characteristics: size, region and economic base.

New York and *Waterford* are the largest, oldest and most northeastern sites. Both cities have been populated by successive waves of migration, first from areas of Europe, then from the American south and, in New York's case, from the Caribbean and the Pacific Orient. Both cities have highly diverse economies, although Waterford's is based more on heavy industry; Waterford's political structure reflects the greater concentration of ownership. Both cities suffer from high unemployment among minorities and unskilled workers generally, attributable to the general economic decline of the region.

Pawnee lies within the orbit of a large metropolitan area, although its local economy is based on three large factories within the city. The population consists of blacks and whites who have immigrated from the South since the Second World War. In comparison to Waterford and New York, Pawnee's economy is much less diverse, although even more depressed. Pawnee's commercial center has also suffered serious decline.

Memphis and *Bradford* are Southern cities. They developed as service centers and their chief industries have been those concerned with processing the agricultural produce of the region. Though industrial and urban centers, these cities are not as large, and their industry not as heavy, as in the northern cases. A local university also is a major employer in Bradford. Labor is unorganized in the South, for the most part, in contrast to the importance of labor unions in New York, Waterford and Pawnee, although the emergence of municipal workers' unions did play a key role in Memphis desegregation. Memphis also suffers from severe economic decline.

Social class structure

The local conditions of segregation and the processes of desegregation vary in ways that can be related to the social class structure of each community and that articulate the class structure with municipal government generally, and the public schools in particular. Let us look more closely at the social class structure of each community and the correlation of social class configurations with the local desegregation processes.

New York's class configuration is shaped by the city's sheer size and diversity, and by its historical role as entry point for immigrants. New York's upper class is the most powerful, wealthy and international in the world, but it has not participated directly in local government or made much use of the public schools since the early years of this century. Control of local government and the schools is in the hands of a local property-owning class, which, though wealthy and powerful, is far less so than the upper class. The city also houses many poor and recently-arrived immigrants from the South, the Caribbean, the Pacific Orient, and many other parts of the world. The class structure of the city is, in many ways, heavy at both top and bottom. Manhattan is especially striking in that some of the richest and some of the poorest people in the nation share the same streets. Since the rich do not depend on municipal services, and the poor and recently-arrived are poorly organized politically, electoral power in the city is wielded disproportionately by the embattled and dwindling middle classes. Reflecting the city's continuing process of ethnic succession, many of the middle class are Jewish and Italian, while the international upper class is WASP and the working and unemployed classes are black, Hispanic, and Asian.

Each wave of immigration into the city has seen a struggle over political control of the schools and desegregation is but the latest episode in this tradition. Those now in control of the schools came up in an era when they were controlled by an earlier ethnic group, the Irish. They see themselves challenged by the demands of newer arrivals for a piece of the municipal employment pie which has served as a means of mobility for each arriving group. The fact that the local labor market is shrinking rather than expanding as in earlier times makes this struggle all the more bitter.

Waterford is more similar in class structure to New York than to the other sites, but it also differs in several ways. The domination of heavy industry produces a much greater degree of concentration of ownership and, consequently, of political control. The ruling class of Waterford is more engaged with local government, and it also has significant leverage in the national economy. The working classes of Waterford also reflect a history of ethnic succession, although not to the same extent as New York. Of all the five communities, only Waterford has never even attempted a comprehensive desegregation plan. As in large northern cities, both New York and Waterford were relatively late in feeling federal pressure for desegregation. Waterford's lack of diversity, compared to New York, also contributes to its difficulties. Its ghettos are the most severely bounded of any of the sites, in contrast to the chaotic melange of New York.

Pawnee has the most attenuated class configuration of the five sites. Since Pawnee is within the orbit of a much larger city, it is not an independent productive unit. The population of Pawnee is largely working class, and, in recent times, unemployed, with a small middle class of merchants and professionals. This middle class has recently diminished because of commercial decline of the downtown area, and migration to more attractive suburbs of the neighboring metropolis. Ethnic divisions are prominent in this working class population since most of them are whites and blacks who have migrated from the South in the past few decades. The class of owners for whom Pawnee laborers work does not live within the town.

The class configurations in *Memphis* and *Bradford* are distinguished from the northern cases by the fact that they are based on traditional power and prestige rather than on a large capital base. Social mobility has traditionally been strictly limited in these cities, for working class whites as well as for blacks. In contrast to the three northern sites, Memphis' and Bradford's labor forces are non-unionized. They have, in the past, had little economic or political power, although desegregation has stimulated political organization in both cases. The greatest difference in the class configurations of the two southern sites, however, is the presence of a black capitalist class in Bradofrd, which has had significant impact on the desegregation process in that city. In contrast, black interest groups in the Memphis desegregation process were concentrated in the working classes and the emergent process of unionization. Bradford's white middle class is divided between local business interests and the cosmopolitan liberal segment associated with the local university which has, at times, supported black interests.

Residence patterns

Local patterns of residence have much to do with the practical problems of school desegregation. The degree and kind of residential segregation varies according to size of the community, region, and class structure.

The most severe residential segregation is to be found among our cases in *Waterford*, with its large ghettos concentrated in the inner city. This concentration is a major factor in the city's lack of comprehensive desegregation plan. There are also large ghettos in *New York*, as well as many mixed neighborhoods; Sheridan High School in New York serves students who come from both. The decline in ratio of white students in the public school system to less than 50 percent in Sheridan's administrative district was a contributing factor to the switch from desegregation to community control as the goal of minority interest groups. Although *Pawnee* had been residentially segregated, these patterns have broken down in recent years. It is possible that Pawnee's schools could now meet court-ordered pupil assignment ratios simply by virtue of neighborhood feeder patterns.

Both southern cities, *Memphis and Bradford*, were traditionally segregated in residence and many areas of activity, including *de jure* segregation of educational facilities. Residential segregation is less strict in the South than in the North. Populations are separated but interspersed, although the trend now is towards greater concentration of blacks in the central cities. The large ghettos of northern cities have not yet come into being.

Interest groups

The interest groups that exerted pressure on the desegregation process in these five communities range from the legitimate and powerful to the newly emerged, powerless, and even underground. School boards themselves can be seen as interest groups, often acting as representatives of a particular class but also acting as an independent interest. Other kinds of organizations are based on ethnic identity. The demands of these groups with regard to desegregation have included those for and against pupil re-assignment, bussing, curriculum reform, ability grouping, the redistribution of jobs, and reorganization of the political control of schools. The strategies employed to gain these ends included legislation, court action, demonstrations, strikes and boycotts, terrorism, electoral process, residential migration, and bureaucratic delays and manipulations.

In *New York* the demands of minority groups shifted in the late 1960s from desegregation to community control. The strike of 1968 and the decentralization law of 1969 marked the crisis point of confrontation over these issues. Since decentralization, the teachers' union has emerged as the most powerful single interest group in the educational arena. It has become polarized against minority demands for new curricula and the power to hire minority teachers outside the union lists. Though black and Hispanic networks have gained control of some schools under decentralization, the political power of minorities has been fragmented in recent years, as different elements struggle variously for more community control, desegregation (which is sometimes contradictory to community control), and bilingual education. In recent years, the demands have centered not on pupil assignment or curriculum, with the exception of the bilingual issue, but on access to jobs for minorities. At present the proportion of minority teachers is still one of the lowest in the country compared to ratios in the general population. The decentralization law passed by the state legislature and the recent threat of sanctions from the federal government represent instances where minority groups have successfully manipulated higher levels of government, although these manipulations have not yielded the intended results.

The emerging black middle class in *Waterford* has gained access to the school board. They have not, however, been successful in reorganizing the schools either for desegregation or for the provision of equal facilities in black neighborhoods. The reluctance of black groups to advocate busing has played a key role here. Black representatives have concentrated on demands for better resources for black students, rather than for desegregation. The creation of Wexler as a magnet school acted as a kind of substitute for community-wide solutions. Though state and federal pressures have been brought to bear on Waterford schools, no solution has yet been reached.

Pawnee's school board, before desegregation, represented primarily its white business interests. Desegregation provided an organizational base for the emergence of black electoral power both in school governance and in the community generally. The school board is now primarily black. The choosing of the site for the new Pawnee West High School represented a victory for black interests, although the architecture of the new school embodied in many ways the fears of white business interests of potential expansion of minority residential areas. The goal of pupil reassignment advocated by emerging black interests was successfully accomplished by appeal to federal court. The opposition to busing among white residents brought forth a number of pressure groups, including racist and terrorist groups as well as more moderate groups with a much broader base of support.

Desegregation in *Memphis* occurred first in public facilities other than the schools; the major confrontation of ethnic interest groups in Memphis took place during the sanitation strike. Access for blacks to jobs in the school system has been the major goal of black interest groups in Memphis, although they have been fragmented since the split between the municipal unions, which are predominantly black, and the NAACP. The school board's delaying tactics on desegregation expressed the board's anti-integration white interests. Voluntary re-assignment of staff to promote balanced racial ratios occurred only when it became clear that outside pressure would inevitably be applied. The response of the white population since desegregation has been to abandon the public schools, either by moving or by enrolling their children in newly created private schools. The churches have provided the facilities for many of these new private schools.

Bradford's black capitalist class has long been represented by a businessmen's association that has lobbied for changes in the educational system. This group early learned to manipulate the federal courts, which gave them a head start on desegregation. Liberal white organizations also exist and have at various times attempted to influence the desegregation process, although without notable success. The school board, representing primarily white business interests, was able to stall successfully for many years. The demands of the black business group have always centered on the quality of education; down-playing of ability grouping after desegregation can be related to this history of concern with education, rather than with political control or access to jobs. Since desegregation, control of the public schools in the city (as opposed to the county) has been largely abandoned by white interests.

National-level influences

Although in all five cases, desegregation has involved influence and mandates from authority beyond the local level, the impact of these influences on each local situation has differed in kind and degree. The most powerful national-level actors have been the federal courts, followed by other federal agencies with powers to initiate lawsuits or to impose economic sanctions on local school systems by threatening to withdraw or actually withdrawing federal funds. The regional dispersion of the five sites underlines the fact that federal desegregation policy has followed a developmental pattern of enforcement and problem definition. Federal interventions began in the south and moved northward. Both Memphis and Bradford have submitted to court-ordered reassignment plans. Pawnee received one of the first northern desegregation orders, and became a center of attention because of the violent reaction of the community to that order. The two large, northern cities, Waterford and New York, have never instituted successful system-wide desegregation plans. Waterford has lost federal funds as a result, and New York has only recently survived the threat of similar federal economic sanctions. The sheer size of the northern cities and the difficulty of counteracting the segregating effects of the large ghettos in these cities have made the achievement of school desegregation difficult.

One non-governmental national-level influence that has played a major role in local desegregation processes is the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, which has provided invaluable legal support to pro-desegregation interests in all five of these communities.

Impact of Community-Level Desegregation Processes on School-Level Operations

Desegregation negotiations in the community have an impact on the operations of the individual school sites affecting:

Physical relations of the schools to residential neighborhoods;

Population shifts in residence and public school attendance;

Changes in political control of the schools;

Staffing patterns;

Curriculum and quality of education issues;

Parental involvement,

Image of the school in the community.

Physical relations of the schools to residential neighborhoods

In all five cases, desegregation has involved changes in and-or disputes over the geographical placement of schools and articulation with the various neighborhoods. In two instances, new facilities were built during desegregation planning and, in both cases, the new facilities were located between black and white residential areas. In both cases, the location of the new school was considered by community interest groups to be a valuable resource for the surrounding neighborhood. In the southern cities, black students who would formerly have attended schools in their own neighborhoods have been assigned to formerly all-white schools located in white neighborhoods. In these cases, however, the distance from the black neighborhoods to the school was great. In New York, as a result of desegregation efforts 20 years ago, black students from a distant neighborhood ride the subway to Sheridan High School. They and their parents approve of this situation on the whole, since they consider Sheridan to be superior to the neighborhood alternatives.

Population shifts in residence and public school attendance

Rearrangements of school-neighborhood geographical articulations have, in the cases of New York and Memphis, contributed to an increase in isolation of the schools from parents and community. The phenomenon of increased isolation also has other causes related to population distribution. In each of our communities, *changes in residential patterns* have occurred contemporaneously with the process of school desegregation. A suburban ring of newer and more affluent housing emerged in New York, Memphis, Waterford and Bradford, while upwardly mobile residents of Pawnee moved into the suburban areas around a nearby metropolis. This process of neighborhood succession, more advanced in older, northern cities, occurs independently of educational politics and has been documented in the urban ecology of American cities since the inception of that discipline (Park and Burgess, 1925). This demographic process, when combined with a history of in-migration of different cultural or subcultural groups, yields a process of ethnic succession. Ethnic succession of neighborhoods interacts powerfully with educational politics, although not in a mono-causal fashion. In New York, for example, suburbanization may eventually be beginning to reverse its effect on the distribution of social classes. The blue-collar suburb is well established and some middle and upper-middle class members are beginning to compete with poorer people for the central city, many of whose amenities they want and can afford. The block-by-block alternation of luxury and deteriorated housing in some sections of the city that so puzzles visitors is a result of this reversed process of neighborhood succession. This may be a trend, but it is not yet affecting the public schools, which have been abandoned by much of the middle class in these areas of the city.

Another phenomenon, which affects the demographic ratios of ethnic categories in the school, much more directly reflects the response of the middle classes to the public schools. That is the growth in private school attendance which is apparent in New York, Memphis, and Bradford. The *growth in private school attendance* in Memphis extends even to the white working class. A private school movement in Pawnee seems to have been short-lived due to the high poverty level of the city.

The Bradford case demonstrates, in addition to residential transition and increase in private school attendance as reasons for declining white enrollments, the use of gerrymandering to keep some city neighborhoods a part of the suburban, county school system.

Changes in political control of the schools

Changes in the political control of the schools have occurred along with the desegregation process. In all five communities, blacks have won seats on the public school boards within the last 20 years. In the large, northern cities, blacks have achieved representation at the board level, but in Pawnee and the southern cities, blacks have won a majority. The representation of minority populations at the school board level reflects the emergence of a black middle class and minority political organization across all five sites, but it must also be noted that this increase in political power occurs at the same time as a general drop in support for the public school systems. This phenomenon is especially noticeable in New York, Memphis, and Bradford. It should also be noted that the time of crucial confrontation over desegregation often marks the high point of minority solidarity in the municipal political arena. Both New York and Memphis specifically report fragmentation of minority political organization in the years following desegregation.

Staffing and quality of education: local issues

An interesting comparison emerges from these five cases with respect to the relative emphasis placed on the issues of jobs or quality of education by local interest groups. This differential emphasis clearly has impact at the school level. In two of the communities, the demand for access to jobs in the school system for blacks has been the focal issue. In the experiments in New York which preceded decentralization, much was made of introducing "black history" into the curriculum, but the major confrontation was precipitated over teacher assignments. Sheridan High School's separation from the decentralization plan which affected the lower schools in the system insured that Sheridan's teaching staff had a very low proportion of minorities in comparison with its feeder schools. The most recent appeals to federal intervention by New York's minority organizations have focused squarely on the hiring-firing issue, since the recent fiscal crisis had a severe impact on minority teachers who were last hired and then first fired.

In the other communities, in contrast, the efforts of minority interest groups have focused more on access to educational resources for children. In Pawnee, the major issue was pupil assignment, and the busing that pupil re-assignment necessitated. In Bradford and Waterford, however, the desegregation process brought with it specific mandates concerning the curricular organization of the school. Special care was taken to avoid obvious ability grouping, under the explicit rationale that it might lead to re-segregation within the school. The mandates to mute ability grouping in Wexler Middle School and Grandin Elementary School were reported to have achieved their intended effects. Sheridan High School's curriculum and programming procedures have also been affected by community-wide interest groups lobbying against ability grouping. A strict form of "tracking" was eliminated on that basis, but the isolation of the individual school from direct outside influences has allowed a subtler form of ability grouping with re-segregating effects to continue.

The two southern cities differed in the relative emphasis on jobs or curriculum, reflecting differences in social class structure. Education has always been one of the few sources of professional employment for blacks in Memphis, and this issue came to the fore. In Bradford, the black upper class has been continuously active for generations in efforts to improve the quality of education available through the public schools. In Crossover High School, dual curricula arose in the wake of desegregation. In this case, the attainment of jobs by black interest groups may have diverted attention from the curricular issues. In both Memphis and Bradford, the re-orientation of the curriculum to basic skills and remedial efforts at the expense of more elite curricular offerings produced dissatisfaction among middle-class white parents and provided a rationale for some of them to withdraw their children from the school.

Parental involvement

In Waterford and Bradford, the desegregation process seems to have increased the level of parental involvement in the school. The Wexler Middle School was a focus of city-wide efforts and the changes in the school's student recruitment methods were widely debated. The open enrollment plan which was originally used created a self-selection method which insured that the school would receive the children of parents actively interested in education. In Bradford, the school board has made active attempts to encourage parental involvement. These are the same two schools in which careful planning occurred to prevent re-segregation by ability grouping.

In contrast, desegregation processes in the other cities resulted in decreased parental involvement. In Pawnee, the architecture and placement of the new school building had a discouraging effect on evening parents' meetings. The changes in geographical articulation of school and neighborhoods which were associated with desegregation decisions in New York and Memphis resulted in less communication between neighborhood and school, and in both communities a general isolation of the school from both white and black parental involvement seems to have occurred as the schools retreated from the controversies in the community.

Image of the school in the community

The desegregation process has had various effects on the images of these schools in their communities.

Sheridan High School once had a reputation as the best non-specialty high school in the system, and still makes that claim in some quarters on the basis of the academic achievements of a small and elite group of students, largely white or Chinese. The school's evening functions have a special significance for the Chinese population that does not hold for any other group. The school maintains a good academic reputation in the distant black neighborhood it serves, but in the general community, the school's reputation has declined. Some attribute to it a reputation for violence, although this is largely undeserved, especially in comparison with the rest of this system. Many minority parents and students also believe, with more justification, that black and Hispanic students are disproportionately channeled into business rather than college-preparatory curricula.

Wexler Middle School opened amid much publicity promoting it as a model of integration and quality education. Despite many constructive efforts to make these claims come true, the change in student recruitment procedures from open enrollment to a feeder school pattern has affected the community's view, and Wexler is now increasingly regarded as both a black and overcrowded school.

The fate of Pawnee West High School's image in Pawnee during and after desegregation has much to do with the fact that high schools in smaller cities and towns traditionally play a much more important symbolic role in the community than high schools in larger cities. Athletic events and school productions are major social events in the community. Despite the strife that accompanied desegregation and busing in Pawnee, the school's prominence in community social life has endured. Both black and white families attend school functions in large numbers even though they segregate themselves physically at these events. The school's previously good academic reputation has largely survived, although black parents often suspect school officials of discriminatory policies and decisions within the school.

Crossover High School suffered a definite loss in image in both black and white neighborhoods. The old black school, Feeder, had played an important role in the life of the black Feeder neighborhood which the more physically-distant Crossover was unable to duplicate. Racial polarization in the organization and control of extra-curricular activities, and the subsequent attainment of an electoral majority by black students in student elections, led to a withdrawal by white students from school activities and by their parents from support of these activities. The school suffered from the general denigration of the public schools by Memphis whites after desegregation, even though this denigration was based more on social than educational factors.

Some white teachers and parents in Bradford also exhibit similar disappointment with changes in the school associated with desegregation, particularly changes in the curriculum. Other whites, however, including younger and more recently hired teachers, as well as blacks, report satisfaction with the school and the desegregation process.

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II. Coping with Desegregation: Individual Strategies and Organizational Compliance

By Jacqueline Scherer and Edward J. Slawski, Jr.

Introduction

If the history of race relations in the United States had been different, desegregation of American public schools might not have been necessary and schools would not have faced the problems presented by court orders mandating desegregation. However, given the history of conflict and controversy that has surrounded interracial activities in the United States, resistance to desegregation in the educational arena was to be expected. The controversy surrounding public school desegregation and its potential for disruption seemed to intensify a growing feeling of ambivalence about both the performance and outcomes of public education. Although there was no agreement about particular causes or potential solutions, the controversy itself became a convenient focus for more amorphous feelings of uncertainty about the function of schools. The resolution of this uncertainty about schools and desegregation took place within a changing school organizational environment that emphasized individual adaptation to changing conditions. In this paper we shall attempt to describe the individual coping strategies which developed within the organizational response to desegregation.

Desegregation as Event and Process

It is not uncommon for events in the history of a society to take on broader meanings and to contribute to a "cultural construction of reality" in that society. Dolgin and Magdoff (1977: 351) note that:

> ...occurrences are accepted as 'events' and provided a (sic) historic past which grounds subsequent history, simultaneously providing a model for the conceptualization of experience of newer history — itself comprised of events. In reflection, as an act assumes concreteness, it becomes conceptually defined and, presumably bounded. Events are naturalized through placement in history. History may be naturalized through the accretion of events.

The occurrences of court orders mandating school desegregation "naturalized" the process of racial integration in American education — the historic "events" provided specific meanings for school desegregation. Dolgin and Magdoff (1977: 351) continue:

> ...Events embody contemporary meanings, legitimated by an implicit reference to a historic past; simultaneously, they (event-meaning) legitimate the past by exemplifying its continuity in the present.

Therefore, in the school desegregation cases, court orders defined what constituted desegregation in both a contemporary and historic sense. These "events" became the basis in which past, present and future desegregation activities would be interpreted.

The court-ordered desegregation of American public schools can be considered an event of "historic significance" because it helped to "define...the identity of various racial groups in American society" (Dolgin and Magdoff 1977: 351). For many blacks and whites, the court orders represented victories in their longstanding battle to equalize opportunity in American society (Kluger, 1977; Weinberg, 1978). At last, public schools would be open to provide the training and experiences necessary to yield better economic opportunities to black Americans. In this sense, school desegregation meant the triumph of the American ideal of equality. However, there were other citizens who saw racial mixing in the schools as a defeat or threat to the established order. Both groups saw the court orders as "benchmarks" but the subsequent histories of desegregation for these groups tended to be vastly different. The existence of different views is reflected in the "variant uses of history" (Dolgin and Magdoff, 1977:353) which different groups display in dealing with the subsequent experience of desegregated education. The residues of these different interpretations continued to influence current activities in racially-mixed schools.

Even school administrators and staff, who were officially neutral about the court orders, were forced to take them into account. The ways in which they handled the reactions, both positive and negative, to school desegregation redefined the social reality of the schools. Operational mechanisms that were acceptable on an instrumental or educational basis before court orders, were called into serious question and scrutinized for violation of legal guidelines. Activities, processes and attitudes that organized the experience of staff and clients of public schools became suspect and were no longer presume legitimate. New realities included more heterogeneous student populations, closer monitoring of administrative procedures by external officials, and racially mixed classroom situations that were more problematic for both students and teachers. The imposition of the new definitions of acceptable conduct in the public school arena following official desegregation created considerable ambiguity about school rules and procedures previously taken for granted. Moreover, all attempts to reduce this ambiguity and to deal constructively with the redefined social reality took place under the eye of the courts and the supervision of the community. Such close attention to school operation further limited organizational and individual responses.

A partial result of this condition was a policy paralysis in public schools that led to a concentration upon the details of legal acquiescence to the court orders. The emphasis on detail did little to counteract the inability of public education to focus on the educational needs of blacks or to redirect organizational efforts toward the complex problem of rectifying the discrepancy between the educational experiences of blacks and whites. In other words, emphasis was placed upon managing the event of court-ordered school desegregation to the exclusion of attempts to deal with the subtle mechanisms of racial inequality rooted in American society. The letter of the law was followed because the spirit was too difficult to capture.

School Desegregation and the Structure of Compliance

The focus on the event of the court order ignored the broader process of racial integration, nor did the focus produce consensus among all the parties to desegregation. The various interpretations of the meaning of the event of school desegregation were not in agreement except for the recognition that some changes would occur. The expectations of change were based upon an implicit criticism of what had been traditional practice in American public education. In effect, the court orders questioned the right of educational institutions to define the conditions appropriate for learning in public schools. This "delegitimization" of authority and the "social unrest" (Blumer, 1978) that it provoked had profound effects upon the organizational structure of the schools and the reactions of the individuals in them.[1]

At an organizational level, we can describe the effects in terms of a shift in the "compliance structures" existing in public schools (Etzioni, 1975). We do not believe that the desegregation of the schools "caused" these shifts but that the court orders provided the *occasions* for the shifts to be formalized. In other words, massive changes had occurred in the client population of American public education before formal school desegregation was legally mandated, but they took place gradually over a number of years. The event of the mandates served as convenient "benchmarks" for marking a change; school desegregation marked the actual change in the public mind. Our interest is in describing the change in compliance structures and the impact upon the subsequent experience of desegregated education without attempting to specify the actual etiology of the phenomenon.

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[1] Blumer (1978:10) sees legitimacy as an important element of the significance of the initial public school desegregation case. "...[C]urrent social unrest among blacks in the United States is due far more to a disowning by them of the legitimacy of the racial arrangement than it is to changes in their modes of living or to an increase of harsh treatment of them. An event such as desegregation decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1954 had its primary significance in undermining the legitimacy of a long-established relationship between the races and thus helping to open doors to the expression of dissatisfaction which had been long endured but not protested against.

Etzioni (1975:21-22) uses the term "compliance" to refer "both to a relation in which an actor behaves in accordance with a directive supported by another person's power and to the orientation of the subject to the power applied." He focuses on the reactions of "lower participants" in developing a typology of compliance structures based upon "the power applied by the organization *to* lower participants and the involvement in the organization developed *by* the lower participants" (Etzioni, 1975:12. Emphasis in the original). In public schools, the "lower participants" are the students. For each of three types of power (coercive, remunerative, and normative), a particular type of reaction is developed by the lower participants (alienative, calculative, and moral). Different organizations emphasize different dimensions of this power-commitment matrix. Etzioni argues that:

> Congruent types are more effective than incongruent types. Organizations are under pressure to be effective. Hence, to the degree that the environment of the organization allows, *organizations tend to shift their compliance structure from incongruent to congruent types and organizations which have congruent compliance structures tend to resist factors pushing them toward incongruent compliance structures.*
>
> (Etzioni, 1975:14. Emphasis in original.)

We will argue that this was precisely the organizational response of public schools when faced with court-ordered desegregation. The court order accentuated the existing incongruence of the compliance structure within the schools and increased the pressure for the establishment of a more congruent structure. Moreover, once such a structure was established, school organizations resisted efforts to change it. Normative compliance structures were replaced with coercive compliance structures as increasing numbers of lower participants (viz. students) apparently failed to internalize directives of school authorities. The coercive compliance structures and the strong emphasis on control were dysfunctional in terms of the kind of learning environment created, but they solved the visible problem of disruption in public schools.

In order to present our argument more fully, we must describe two of the three types of organizations which Etzioni discusses. The "coercive organization" is one in which "coercion is the major means of control over the lower participants and high alienation characterizes the orientation of most lower participants to the organization" (Etzioni, 1975:27). Prisons and mental hospitals are prime examples of this type of organization. Etzioni (1975:40) describes the "normative organization" as one

> in which normative power is the major source of control over most lower participants, whose orientation to the organization is characterized by high commitment. Compliance in normative organizations rests principally on internalization of directives accepted as legitimate.

Religious orders are the clearest example of a normative organization.

These two types of organization, coercive and normative, are important for understanding schools since educational institutions "characteristically employ normative controls with coercion as a secondary source of compliance" (Etzioni, 1975:45). In other words, most students (the "lower participants" in educational organizations) accept as legitimate the directives of school authorities (principals and teachers) and internalize these norms as their own. For those few who do not, coercion is available. Etzioni (1975:47, Fn. 18) offers the perceptive comment that when school authorities are forced to resort to coercion, they seek to have it applied away from the school itself.

> Schools...tend to externalize the application of coercion by delegating it to parents, courts, police and other authorities. This enables the school to initiate and partially direct the use of coercion without suffering the full impact of the resulting alienation. Moreover, coercion and other negative sanctions applied in school, especially the more powerful ones, are not applied by the teacher who has to build up the commitment of the students to himself in order to carry out his educational role effectively. Teachers tend to send their students to the principal for severe sanctioning.

As long as there is general agreement between the school authorities and these external sources of coercion, the school authorities can be successful in externalizing the application of force. However, as soon as a situation of normative ambiguity arises, this externalization becomes more difficult because there is no consensus about the norms to be enforced. The school itself is forced to rely more upon internal coercive control mechanisms and less on normative bases of compliance. Not all students cease to respond to normative devices or fail to internalize the directives of school authorities. Rather, the percentage of a student body responding to this mechanism diminishes and gradually the percentage who respond to coercive mechanisms increases beyond a point where coercion can be relegated to a secondary position in the compliance structure. At that point, the schools no longer display a dual compliance structure with coercion as secondary; the public school becomes primarily a coercive organization. The bulk of this paper will address the implications of the shift to coercive compliance structures in public school at both the individual and organizational level.

Desegregation and Violence in the Schools

With mandates for desegregation, public schools were under pressure to adjust their internal operations to accommodate a changed clientele. The association between desegregation and violence in the public mind provides an example of one source of the pressure toward coercive compliance structures in public education. The pattern of violence so often associated with race relations in American society influenced expectations about the occurrences of school desegregation. So prominent were these expectations that they overshadowed the many cases in which desegregation took place peacefully. Desegregation was thought to increase the level of violence in schools; desegregated institutions were reputed to be less "safe" than segregated schools. Such judgements are highly impressionistic since there are no base-line measurements from which one could calculate a change in degree of violence. Furthermore, it is extremely difficult to make comparisons between schools because record keeping, as well as perceptions of discipline, vary considerably from building to building. School staff are reluctant to discuss violence because an open admission of its existence may affect a school's reputation and diminish the good will of the community toward the school.

One way that schools were seen to be different after desegregation involved discipline. Historically, schools have pushed out disruptive students, often after only minimal efforts to assist them with educational and social problems (see Wittig, 1973). The institutional arrangements in most schools, affluent, suburban as well as poor, urban, are not sufficiently flexible to meet the needs of all individuals. Moreover, most school personnel believe that "a few bad applies" should not "spoil the barrel," and that disruptive students should be removed. This pattern exists regardless of ethnic-racial makeup of the student body but the diverse school population created by desegregation efforts tends to highlight it. Metz (1978:17) notes:

> For schools the most difficult instrumental goal is the maintenance of order among a student body which is only half socialized, comes and remains by legal compulsion, and frequently includes persons with radically different educational and social expectations.

Moreover, students who are not from middle class families are often more likely to be seen as "radically different" and therefore more disruptive.

Discipline is neither obedience nor punishment.

> Rather, it is the routinized behavior which an individual adopts to attain a goal. When an institution classifies a student as a "discipline problem" there is generally a conflict between the student's notion of appropriate behavior and the institution's ideal (Sizemore, 1978:66).

For this reason, identification as a "trouble-maker" is often correlated with social class, academic ability, personality characteristics and race. Because desegregation is designed to create a more heterogeneous student body, it inevitably forces everyone in the school to deal with the "problem" of diversity and differences. Often "differences" are interpreted as disruptive behaviors and disciplinary problems associated with the student's race.[2]

One can sympathize with the dilemma faced by school staff. If fears of violence are acknowledged and openly discussed, community reaction is likely to exaggerate the elements of danger and there will be a loss of public confidence in the school. On the other hand, in ignoring the persistence of racial fears, students are denied an opportunity to deal with problems directly. Desegregated schools are not "blackboard jungles" in which school staff serve as prison guards, but they are more complex than segregated schools because the student body is more heterogeneous with respect to race and socioeconomic status. Bi-racial contacts often reflect the variety of racial (and social class) perspectives that characterize race relations outside the school. For example, most teachers believe that good education requires a commitment to learning demonstrated by the ability to obey orders and follow directions, and regular attention to academic concerns. Students who do not fit into this mold — both black and white — tend to be unsuccessful. The reasons why some students "fit" the model and others do not involve much more than the personal characteristics of students, the explanation offered by many teachers and administrators. Cultural, social, and economic factors are involved; to the degree that these cultural, social and economic factors are correlated with race in American society, race is also involved. To deny the powerful consequences of racial identities in social interaction and claim that schools are — as many told us — "color blind," is too simplistic.

There are, in addition, powerful administrative, educational and ideological norms that mask race as a dominant factor in school activities. At the very least, desegregation requires that some of these norms be verbalized and opened to question, although many whites are uncomfortable acknowledging these factors. ("I can't see any value in counting blacks and whites in a classroom; that isn't education.") The extent to which traditional practices have been based upon racial or social stereotyping determines the extent to which desegregation represents change, and the extent of change determines how seriously the legitimacy of existing school structures is questioned.

One effect, then, of desegregation, is to complicate even further the understanding of violence in public schools. School staffs are peculiarly isolated in trying to find ways to deal with it. Any discussion of their personal or professional concerns about violence in a desegregated setting is interpreted within the highly charged atmosphere that operates in American race relations. However, their silence only seems to perpetuate the problems by driving the issues underground. After the first sensational days of violence, official silence appears to be the strategy generally adopted in desegregated schools. One of the most unfortunate consequences of this lack of discussion is that the problems of bi-racial contact within a desegregated school become the problems of individuals. It is no longer an organizational issue, but the task of the teacher within the classroom; the problem of an individual student unable to handle the uncertainty of the school situation; the personal responsibility of an administrator charged by the public with guaranteeing the safety of students. As a result, individuals have to find their own solutions to these complex problems. Should they fail to resolve the issues satisfactorily, the failure is personal.

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[2] There is also evidence that Special Education programs in public schools have been corrupted to handle the organizational problems that arise from an inability to deal with racial differences. For example, Barbara Sizemore (in a personal communication with the authors) reports that a public school district she has studied shows a dramatic overrepresentation of black students in those Special Education categories which do not require medical certification by a physician; blacks are represented in numbers proportional to the entire student population in those categories of Special Education which do require certification by a physician. She suggests that this pattern may be evidence that the school organization "dumps" students into Special Education programs rather than adapt school operations to racial differences.

It is not clear whether desegregation means simply bi-racial contacts or the first step towards more comprehensive racial integration. Nor is it certain whether school personnel and students are asked to adapt to a new population mix or to a different cultural and social environment. At the same time, there has been little clarity in American education as a whole about what constitutes "good education," about the goals of schools in a changing society, or the criteria against which student learning can be measured. In situations such as this, where there are high levels of ambiguity, people try to reduce ambiguity by attempting to gain greater control over their environment. Thus, administrators adopt more specific rules and regulations about the operations in the school; teachers try to routinize and organize classroom activities in a predictable way; students seek ways to protect themselves from real or imagined threats. Attempts to deal with the event of desegregation by increasing control over the school environment have a profound influence on the process of desegregation.

Individual Coping Strategies

Faced with the ambiguity that arises when the legitimacy of organizational goals is questioned, individual actors are forced to rely upon their own individual resources in coping with problems that develop in the routine operations of the organization. Court-ordered desegregation, in effect, questioned the legitimacy of the organizational goals of public schools, at least in the area of race relations. In the following sections, we will discuss some of the individual coping strategies that were observed in desegregated public schools, distinguishing between those strategies which seem to result from a basic agreement with and commitment to the organizational goals of the school (normative compliance-based strategies) and those mechanisms that demonstrate relatively low commitment to official school goals (coercive compliance-based strategies).

Normative Compliance-Based Strategies

"Making it work." One important strategy for coping with school desegregation is simply accepting the presence of others of a different race and making a determined effort to have desegregation proceed peacefully and successfully. This strategy involves an affective response demanding the most active forms of endorsement. In Pawnee, for example, the most positive affective response was represented by a slogan adopted by a parents' group during the initial phase of court-ordered bussing: "Let's make it work!" From this perspective, desegregation represents an opportunity for social betterment. One leader summed this up as follows:

> This [school desegregation] is a great opportunity to improve the status of mankind. We have a chance right now to dissolve some of the racial tensions by teaching our children to accept their Spanish speaking neighbor, their white neighbor, their black neighbor. We should diligently teach our children to try to understand them.

"Making it work" is an active strategy that transcends the particular operation of the schools and places busing within the context of the whole society. The activities necessary to "make it work" are supported by the norms of equality inherent in American ideals.

The level of idealism inherent in the efforts to "make it work" appealed to students as well as to adults in Pawnee. The impact of the idealism was particularly apparent among those students who began their high school career the year the desegregation order was issued. Many students in this class expressed the belief that desegregation made them unique pioneers in a "grand experiment" in social reform.[3] This belief was a powerful factor in developing student norms to support the initial desegregation efforts. Many students thought of themselves as leaders in a crusade. They believed that, through desegregation, they had an opportunity "to meet all kinds of people" and to learn how to accept differences. It was viewed as an experiment of dealing with "real life" and as helping them to learn to adjust to a pluralistic society.

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[3] Pawnee was one of the first school districts in the north to operate under a court-ordered desegregation program. Consequently, the district was the focus of considerable media attention which supported the pioneer image.

Students were so idealistically committed to this stance that they would go to extraordinary lengths to reduce the level of voluntary segregation that was the common pattern in student interactions. During the initial violent phases of desegregation, they participated in programs at other buildings in the district which urged students to accept the racial mixing of students peacefully. Students with high visibility, such as class officers, members of the varsity football and basketball teams, and the marching band — the "cultural maximizers" in Jules Henry's phase — were most likely to cross racial barriers in their interactions but there were substantial numbers of other less visible students who were infected with the spirit of interracial cooperation.

After the initial years, however, the students in succeeding classes were less likely to be so ideologically committed, and the ideological commitment of the pioneer students seemed to be reduced. The risk resulting from crossing color lines among students seemed to increase even among the most prominent students.

"Getting along." As the initial blush of idealism begins to fade, students make other adaptations to the reality of desegregated schools, one of which is simply "getting along." "Getting along" represents a more affectively neutral response to social mixing that can be endorsed by school personnel, students and parents without commitment to the broader social policy of which school desegregation is a part. At a minimum, this strategy entails "live and let live." When "getting along" becomes the official and legitimized stance of school authorities and is consistently supported by school personnel, such norms as "polite cooperation" emerge (Clement *et al.*, 1978; Clement and Livesay, this volume). The norm of polite cooperation seeks to foster politeness in student interactions and to avoid any unpleasant or controversial references in conversation. The norm of politeness supported the expectation that student relationships within the school would be governed by at least a minimal degree of decorum, if not actual friendship. Those who violated this norm were pressured to conform by their teachers and their fellow students. However, those students "who are able to go beyond courtesy and establish close friendships are considered exceptional" (Clement *et al.*, 1978:240). The superficiality of polite cooperation may confuse students who do not understand the distinction between this behavior and real friendship behavior. Teacher rewards are reserved for those students who are "nice" to each other and the intent seems to be to create a harmonious and smooth atmosphere by controlling student interaction. The effect of the norm of polite cooperation is to guarantee some degree of order within the school. That order is based on normative compliance; the very clear norm is that students should be "nice" to each other, regardless of their race.

The influence of school authorities in directing student interracial contacts seems to be greater at the elementary grade levels, and the emergence of politeness as a standard was most clearly observable among the sixth graders studied. We suspect that this strategy is most effective with younger students who are less likely to question the authority of school officials and the norms which they represent. "Polite cooperation" is not as powerful a norm in secondary buildings. In high schools, other techniques are adopted for "getting along." One fairly common strategy involves selecting a "best friend" from the other race and developing strong linkages with that individual. In this way the bulk of a student's contacts are with persons of the same race, but the special friend is evidence of one's ability to "get along." Such students also point to the "cultural maximizers" who cross race lines frequently, and use these models as evidence that people can work together in a desegregated school. In this way, students can experience bi-racial contact under relatively controlled conditions. However, we do not mean to imply that these friendships are simply utilitarian since our data indicate that this is not the case.

"Not making trouble." Least actively determined to "make it work" and least committed to "getting along," are those students, staff and parents committed to "not making trouble." From this perspective, desegregation is passively accepted and tactics are developed to avoid "trouble" and to get on with the routine of school life with as little "fuss" as possible. This pragmatic "make do" approach to the new policies connected with de-

segregation characterizes many students. Students are successful under this approach if they "mind their own business" and do not "go out of their way" to actively seek or avoid bi-racial contacts. This approach allows social relations among students "to happen naturally." According to this perspective, students naturally pick friends according to their own interests and activities, and race is not a factor in their choices. The role of the school is to provide the setting and let nature take its course. As one teacher noted:

> Kids, no matter how you plan, [aren't] going to change their minds because you say so...therefore, let things run their natural course and kids will get along. The kids that are good will loaf with those that are good; kids that are mischievous and rotten will loaf together too. To mix them up would be defeating the purpose of life.

In summary, the response of students to many of the situations emerging from desegregated schooling is to "get along." This response is at best positive and, at least, affectively neutral to the social policy which school desegregation implies. All strategies for "getting along," however, depend upon agreement with, or commitment to, the prevailing normative structure of the school organization. Students who attempt to "get along" generally accept the official definition of desegregation as given and attempt to incorporate the norms implied by this official definition into the pattern of their ongoing interactions. Younger students seem to be more likely to be committed to this normative structure than older students. In secondary schools those students who "fit" the officially prescribed pattern with regard to desegregation tend to be those who are successful academically, active in school sponsored clubs or teams and comfortable in their student role. These students appear to have the greatest number of bi-racial contacts. In other words, if the students follow prevalent "middle class" versions of school participation, they are more likely to pursue a strategy that allows them to "get along" with students of different races. Also, there is some evidence that the idealism surrounding the initial phases of desegregation increases commitment to more active strategies for managing bi-racial contact. However, not all strategies are affectively neutral nor are such strategies appropriate for all situations. In the following sections, we will discuss individual coping mechanisms that develop from disagreement with the prevailing normative structure of the schools.

Coercive Compliance-Based Strategies

Avoidance. One of the more common strategies for dealing with bi-racial contacts is avoidance. At a most elementary level, avoidance is a mechanism that enables an individual to separate him- or herself physically from members of other races. Such avoidance behavior was observed in all the schools studied and was displayed by different sets of actors in many situations.

The clearest example of student avoidance of members of other races can be seen in the pattern of neighbor selections in open situations. Examinations of student seating patterns in cafeterias, assemblies and other informal settings suggest that individuals usually select their neighbors on the basis of race; most often, white students are observed choosing white students and blacks choosing blacks as companions. Hispanic students seemed to shift their selections of companions in more situationally determined ways. For example, at Sheridan and Pawnee West some Hispanic groups identified with whites while others associated with black students. At West, Mexican students "smoke" with whites whereas Puerto Rican students "hang out" in the black smoking area. There was no consistent pattern to these choices across sites and we will not detail them here. We simply note the apparent importance of race in student associations, and comment that choosing to be with a student of one race often involved a choice not to be near (that is, to avoid) a student of a different race.

It is possible to observe avoidance patterns in extra-curricular activities where particular sports are identified by race. At Crossover, for example, basketball and football are "black," golf and swimming "white," female track "black," and male track "white." Students are free to participate in all activities in which a majority of one race dominated. However, it is difficult for students to cross these informal barriers of color and most students choose not to make an issue of the segregated pattern that results.[4] At West, the one white student on the basketball team, nicknamed "the Great White Hope," had difficulties at first adjusting to his minority status. In time, however, he came to view the experience as one of the most exciting of his high school career. His black teammates defended him on many occasions, and his status was reflected in good-natured joking from both blacks and whites involved with basketball.

The issue of extra-curricular activities illustrates the complex effects of desegregation on student life. It is generally accepted in all secondary schools, desegregated or not, that students want to associate with friends as much as possible. Counselors and students told us that being able "to be with friends" is one of the major criteria students use in selecting courses. Peer contacts are an essential element in student development, and it is not surprising that students would freely associate with peers whom they feel are most similar to themselves. Since busing often reflects segregated residential patterns, neighborhood-based student friendships are transported from home to school. Some part of avoidance, then, may reflect the difficulty of forming friendship ties with students of other races outside the school context, and racial overtones to student interactions at school may only reinforce and sustain these neighborhood-based choices rather than directly cause the social preferences observed. However, even if race is a secondary causal factor in this behavior, the fact that so few behaviors result in racially mixed student groups is the occasion for much discussion in desegregated settings. Typical of such comments is the observation of a teacher who was chaperoning a "sock hop" where a few white students were huddled on bleachers watching considerably more black students dancing on the gym floor: "This just isn't the way things should be."

Where total avoidance, with the resulting total exclusion of members of one race, is not tolerated, as in the case of some highly visible activities, there are conscious efforts to desegregate the activity. One example is the homecoming court (Queen and Attendants).[5] Students often deliberately try to have a representative of each race in the running for these positions and organize their voting to yield a racially mixed court. However, once the principal of "representativeness" is violated — i.e., blacks or whites monopolizing positions — it appears that members of the "losing" race cease competing and tend to avoid further contact with activity. At Crossover, a deliberate policy of balancing the cheerleading team was abandoned after four years and the new black team captain told the girls that they no longer needed any "white type" cheers. The white girls simply withdrew from the competition. The same occurred in the Homecoming activities at Pawnee West once parents and school officials reduced the pressure for racial balance. It should be noted, however, that the white minority at Crossover was able to exercise an inordinate amount of control over student government and non-athletic activities by adopting similar tactics in these areas. These examples suggest that students view the role of race in the distribution of prestige in their social system as a zero-sum game. Either victory or defeat in that competition fosters avoidance behavior.

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[4] Rather elaborate belief systems develop to explain why particular sports are dominated by students of a particular race. For example, at Pawnee West the fact that basketball is "black" is explained by the "fact" that "blacks are always out shooting baskets." As one informant told us, "if blacks spent as much time on other sports as they do for basketball, they could be good in them too." We note also that there is a taboo among white school officials against discussing what they see as more fundamental reasons for racial differences in athletics. The longer tendons in the legs of blacks which "makes them better jumpers" and the negative buoyancy which hinders their swimming can only be mentioned in whispers.

[5] Homecoming activities at Pawnee West were suspended during the initial violence which surrounded desegregation efforts. After four years, however, pressure from parents and students encouraged school officials to reinstitute the Homecoming Dance. The concern for safety at the first dance was so great that there were as many adults as students in attendance. Moreover, many school people viewed this dance as a "test case" — could such events be safely scheduled in a desegregated school? The fact that student response to the dance was very low was judged secondary to the absence of any violence at the event. Much less concern was displayed about the dance the second year it was held and the student response was greater. The first dance was attended by only about 100 students, fairly evenly distributed among blacks and whites; several hundred students attended the dance the second year, but the participants were predominantly black students.

Another type of avoidance results from fear rather than from a desire to remain with friends. There are some places believed to be "unsafe" and these spaces are avoided. In Pawnee West, for example, the back stairs are seldom used by some students because they are considered dangerous; as a result, the front hall is usually crowded and there is considerable pushing and shoving at change of classes. Learning where to go and not to go is an important part of becoming a member of the school. Students explain that the general rule is to "stay out of trouble" by avoiding people and places that can cause harm. This rule was stated as "only doing what you have to do," "staying out of the way of things," or simply "minding your own business." The point in all these wordings is that there are definable limits to where and when a student travels in the school environs.

The protection of turf is another major feature of student experience. At Sheridan High, students established "ethnic" boundaries around parts of the school property and those not identified with that particular group were excluded. At Crossover, a student lounge became identified as a black student area, and whites — including white teachers — hesitated to use the space.

Avoidance of particular spaces seems to be related to fear of the unknown. Younger students at Pawnee West tend to be more afraid than older students; white girls more so than other student populations. The greatest protection is to have "friends" with you and not allow yourself to be isolated from friends of your own race. A survey of the school asked a random sample of about 100 students questions about the relative safety of different locations in the school building. Almost half (45 percent) responded that there was at least one place that students avoided "because someone might hurt or bother them there." Almost one-third (32 percent) listed two or more "unsafe places." Interviews revealed that many of these fears involved the race of the students who were likely to be found in the given locations.

Many students report that they do not feel comfortable with one group or another and simply avoid those activities that could lead to bi-racial contact. There are parents who insist that their children return home immediately after classes and do not allow them to participate in after-school activities because they do not want them to be threatened. However, in some cases, students anticipate unpleasant experiences because of the stories that they hear from older students or siblings. They are often surprised to find these accounts exaggerated and inaccurate. As one student noted:

> In junior high school they told me that I was gonna' get lost and the teachers were mean and stuff like that. But it wasn't like that — the teachers are nice and the school is not too bad and I never get lost. I like it here.

Another said:

> Well, I heard a lot of bad things like people getting jumped between classes or after school — things like that and as long as you don't go out in the halls between classes or down back stairways — then it's O.K., but it is pretty good here.

There are, on the other hand, students like the young white female who went to the principal's office and requested her mother be called to pick her up every time she heard a rumor that there was going to be "trouble." She reported never having seen any violence but attributed that to her ability to so completely avoid situations where it was likely to occur.

The strategy of avoidance has many forms. Obviously, the most effective way to avoid a situation is complete absence, and "skipping," truancy and cutting classes may be viewed as ways in which students can avoid confronting school situations. Many students cut classes selectively, partly in response to how rigid the teacher is in enforcing sanctions against absences, that is, whether or not the consequences of absence appear to be severe. Students utilize a variety of informal networks to reduce these consequences, including checking with classmates who have attended when tests are scheduled about whether the teacher was "mad" because they "skipped."

"Skippers" seem to have little trouble finding safe places (i.e., places where they are not likely to be found) to go when they cut classes. Shopping malls are a favorite location.[6] They also have many places to go inside the building when they "skip," as another student explained:

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[6] Officially, Pawnee West is a "closed campus": students are not allowed to enter or leave the school

> How do they skip? It is really easy; they have put hall monitors out there but it isn't working because 5 minutes after class they leave so all the students have to do is wait 5 minutes after they leave and walk around until they see a teacher coming and then leave and they go to the back hall or to the stairs because the teachers never go to the back ones, it's very easy. They keep saying they are going to stop us but they cannot stop us unless they put a person in every hall, every stairs and every bathroom.

This pattern is, of course, not unique to desegregated schools: most secondary schools are faced with similar situations. Desegregation and the resulting racially mixed student bodies merely complicate this issue. Concern with student attendance leads to elaborate systems of control based upon detailed bookkeeping and record taking. In spite of such systems, however, administrators find it impossible to cope with attendance difficulties.

Finally, we note that attendance at class is not an indicator of participation in the work of school. Observers were struck by the number of students in almost every classroom who do not "pay attention," who sleep or stare out the window or read paperback novels. They act as if they are isolated within the group and, aside from physical presence, do not participate in any way in the ongoing activity of the class. This withdrawal is usually tolerated by teachers if the student is not disruptive.

The decline of informal teacher networks has led to some withdrawal of staff members from each other. The after-school get-togethers and social exchanges that had characterized many teacher lounges disappeared with the institution of the desegregation policies, and did not resume to any large degree in subsequent years. This may be a process that takes place in all schools as teachers obtain more autonomy over their professional lives. Such autonomy could result from the ability of teachers to live away from the community in which the school is located, from union contacts that severely constrain demands for extra time, or from centralization policies that produce large-scale institutions. In other words, desegregation may complicate teacher interaction and facilitate withdrawal although not "causing" this response.

Individuals use avoidance as a coping measure in both positive and negative ways. It makes sense to stay away from situations perceived as dangerous and unsafe. Adults frequently avoid situations that are unpleasant or boring, just as students do when they "skip" or "tune out" classes. On the other hand, avoidance seldom resolves important difficulties; only by facing these do we develop and mature. Desegregation provides an opportunity for students to confront the serious problems of race relations in this society but strategies of avoidance make it less likely that these problems will be confronted and resolved. Finally, the toleration of avoidance behavior represents a decline in the force of norms for participation in learning that formerly characterized schooling. Decreased pressure to take part in learning activities increases the necessity to impose other kinds of controls on student behavior and accelerates the shift to coercive compliance structures.

Submission. There are certain uncomfortable or unpleasant situations which develop during the course of a student's day that simply cannot be avoided. Confrontations between students occur in the school corridors; students collide on the stairs during change of classes; prime seats are demanded at assemblies or other school events. In response to such situations, some students make use of a strategy of submission — they passively tolerate actions again their persons that would normally provoke a more aggressive response. A student steps aside to make way for the others in the corridor; pushing is accepted and not returned; desirable seats are vacated. We notice considerable differences in terms of black and white styles of behavior with regard to strategies of submission. In general, black students are more likely to "stand up for their rights" and not to permit any "messing around." On the other hand, white students often appear to submit to many "unfriendly" acts in an attempt to avoid "trouble." One black female student discussed this process:

R: When you just walk down the hall and there

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building without clearance from a building administrator. In practice, students learn very quickly how to get in and out of the building when they choose.

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> are a lot of people they just push you out of the way. You just keep going.
>
> *I: Is there any particular reason why that happens or does it just happen?*
>
> R: It just happens, I don't know.
>
> *I: Is it more likely to happen if you're black or white? Or does it matter?*
>
> R: Mostly it happens to white people.
>
> *I: Why is that? Do you know?*
>
> R: I don't know. Like if a black hits another black they know they will get hit back, but if they hit a white they just keep on going...
>
> *I: So if a black pushes another black person they are liable to get hit?*
>
> R: Ya.
>
> *I: Is that how it seems?*
>
> R: Ya.
>
> *I: Why do you think that white people let it go?*
>
> R: I don't know. The black ought to get smacked if they push...the whites look like they are mad but I don't know...

Students usually describe this behavior as "hassling," and accept it as part of their world in school. To "hassle" someone is to annoy or provoke him purposefully, and is somewhat related to the concept of teasing, but usually includes actual physical contact and deliberate intention to disturb. This behavior is often directed at someone of the opposite race. For example, a boy and a girl (of the same race) walking along talking would be split apart by another student (of a different race) walking between them: groups of students would dominate hall space horizontally, or bump into people. Our observations tended to substantiate the student testimony that black students usually provoked these instances and most whites ignored them, continuing on their way. Black students volunteered the observation that most white students would not respond to hostility on the part of blacks but tried to avoid confrontations.

> ...I have never been hassled. It's especially the white kids. You know they are really scared. There was an assembly for Black Awareness in the fieldhouse, and there were some white kids that got out of their class to go to the assembly but when they found out there was just going to be blacks there, they skipped class.

It appears that those white students most comfortable with blacks and least afraid in a bi-racial contact situation are least likely to tolerate these intrusions. Submission seems to be a behavior that is more characteristic of less powerful students. For example, younger students, both black and white, defer to older students; the higher status upper classmen had more freedom to invade the personal space of the lower classmen who were less likely to respond in kind. Avoidance of occasions for "hassling" seems to be a general response of white students; when avoidance is not possible, whites are likely to submit.

It is important to note that both blacks and whites seem to misinterpret the behavior of students whose race is different from their own. There is reason to believe that white children interpret mild forms of playful behavior on the part of blacks as threatening and, because of their fear at these perceived threats, submit. This behavior, however, can be dysfunctional for whites when it is interpreted by blacks as weakness. Black students, on the other hand, wonder why there is no reaction from whites to their provocation and judge whites to be "uppity" since they will not engage in the interchange. The point is that, since the issues of racial differences are successfully "hidden" by the official stance that desegregation is no longer a problem, individual students have no way of exploring alternative interpretations.

The strategy of submission on the part of students seems to be at least reinforced by the toleration of "hassling" or mild provocation by teachers. There were numerous instances where the teacher indicated that he or she observed what was "going down" (by making aside comments to the observer or to the class) but chose not to make an issue of the behavior. There is in these cases an implicit acceptance of the provocation and a modelling of submissive behavior. If a teacher, in his or her relatively powerful position (to the students), tolerates provocation, students can see that passivity is a possible response. "Putting up with" the "hassling" is one way out of the ambiguity that results from the absence of any apparent agreement concerning the norms for appropriate classroom behavior.

Denial. Another important strategy that can be observed for dealing with race relations in desegregated schools is that of denial. Administrators, teachers, students, and parents consistently deny that there are any racial difficulties in the schools. The form of the denials varies, but the effect is the same throughout the research, namely, to negate the existence of racial factors in school operation in spite of considerable empirical evidence that such factors are important. One form of denial is a taboo on talking about race: race is never mentioned, even to the extraordinary degree that students were not able to describe the physical features of another student accurately.[7] For example, one observer recorded these instances:

> Ms. Fowler said that a short while ago she had heard from Martin (black) that another child had done something wrong. The offense was serious enough so that she wanted to track down this individual. She asked Martin to describe the child who had committed the offense. Martin said, 'He has black hair and he's fairly tall.' He didn't give the race of the other person even though he went on to give a fairly complete description otherwise. Finally, Ms. Fowler asked, 'Is he black or white?' Martin replied, 'Is it all right for me to say?' Ms. Fowler said that it was all right, that black or white skin is a matter of fact and is an important part of a physical description. Martin then said, 'Well, the boy was white.'

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> *Interviewer: You said that sometimes black kids might not like someone in mentioning group membership by saying things like black or white. Have you actually seen cases like this...where black kids have been angry about it or...*
> Sue (white): Yeah, I've seen that. It's I don't like ...I don't know why, but I never say black or white.

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> *Interviewer: [a situation like that in Sylvia's interview, in which race wasn't mentioned, is described]. Why do you think he didn't mention whether the student was black or white?*
> Darin (black): Cause he didn't want to get beat up, probably. Cause if you talk color, probably they beat you up.
> *Interviewer: Who will beat you up?*
> Darin: Anybody.
> *Interviewer: Would you have mentioned the student's race if you were describing him to the teacher?*
> Darin: Yes.
> *Interviewer: Why do you think the other student didn't?*
> Darin: Probably he didn't want to embarrass the other kids...and the teacher.
> *Interviewer: How would he have embarrassed the teacher?*
> Darin: Well, if it was a white teacher and you said the kid was white, he [the teacher] would probably be embarrassed himself...[It would] probably embarrass the kids [too].

The existence of the taboo is fairly clear in these incidents and the students are aware of the penalties for violation of the norm. The net effect is to prevent any discussion of race.

A related manifestation of denial is apparent in the belief that the members of the school are "color-blind." This assertion was made frequently by teachers and administrators, and we have no reason to believe that the speakers were not sincere. One teacher said:

> I really don't address myself to group differences when I am dealing with youngsters...I try to treat youngsters.

Another, when asked why there was only one white girl in a class, responded:

> 'Well, let me check.' After looking through the class roster he said, 'You know you're right. I never noticed that...I guess that's a good thing. On kids...they are not really aware of color or race or whatever. I really don't think they are.'

The denial of race as a factor in school life can be performed by substituting norms of politeness and cooperation in which it is impolite to refer to differences except in positive ways. Thus, one uses polite phrases as substitute expressions for race, and actual conversations that openly deal with racial issues are avoided. The appearance, then, is one of smoothness and harmony between students of different races. In a middle school, for example, race was used directly only five times by teachers and 30 times by students in over 250 hours of observation. On the other hand, an analysis of informal student conversations at a high school revealed that race was a central feature of a student conversation more often than sex. The difference partly reflects the fact that younger students follow teacher role models more closely than older students and have fewer opportunities for informal conversations during classes. At the same time, younger students may find the denial of the importance of race a particularly difficult problem to handle since they are unable to find role models among school staff to assist them in handling their experiences with members of a different race. Thus, information about racial differences must be gathered informally and almost superstitiously — and such information, usually provided by peers, is more likely to be based upon stereotypes, myths and inaccurate perceptions of others.

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[7] Although our emphasis here is on race as a taboo topic, we note that sex is also a subject that is officially avoided.

If denial is to prevent the expression of statements of overt racism, the sanctions imposed on violators must be strong. As expected, these are largely informal. Students run the risk of "getting beat up." Teachers attempt to discourage a colleague who deals with racial issues directly by mobilizing resistance among friends, and, only as a last resort, will they go to the principal. It is imperative that no one directly challenge the norm of denial and bring it into the open for review, since once this is done, it is believed that the norm will no longer operate. Confronting race directly, many teachers believe, will hinder their ability to conduct their classes.

If race is denied as a source of identity, it can then be denied as a source of conflict. One reason why this becomes critical in the operation of schools is the lack of mechanisms to resolve racial conflicts either in schools or in society at large. The intent of a strategy of denial is to prevent situations which could develop into unresolvable conflicts. Since there are no norms which govern the ways in which individuals in the society deal with racial differences, more coercive (and artificial) strategies are substituted so that potential conflict can be managed. The substitution of these alternative strategies tends to reinforce the emerging coercive structures of public schools, and to weaken the commitment of clients of the schools to the goals of the school organization.

Summary

It is important to recall that individuals select from a variety of available responses to the problems presented by bi-racial contact. However, the size of the repertoires from which individuals select differs considerably. For example, our observations revealed that some students deal with almost all bi-racial contacts during their school days by withdrawal or avoidance, while others — usually the "cultural maximizers" — are able to choose different responses for different situations. When "getting along" is defined as official policy in a desegregated school, it becomes necessary to deny the persistence of problems associated with racial mixing. The result is that actors in the situation are forced to cope as best they can; they must bring to bear whatever personal resources they have for managing tensions. An official policy of denial, for example, tends not only to downplay the significance of confrontations and personal anxieties about bi-racial contacts, but also to discourage overt self-segregation as a coping mechanism. Students are expected to mix with each other regardless of race, but there is little official support for resolving any problems that do arise in a multiracial context. The fact that so many individuals experience problems reinforces the necessity for increased coercion in the routine operation of the schools so that unacceptable coping strategies are not applied.

There are, in addition, basic contradictions between strategies. For example, avoidance and active "getting along" behaviors do not fit together. Some of these contradictions are smoothed over by the acceptance of a master goal of education and the interpretation of racial differences only within the context of that master goal. The primary function of schools is to promote academic achievement, and when considerations of race become obstacles to academic achievement, they are to be ignored and denied. However, when considerations of race foster opportunities for achievement and learning, they are to be recognized. For this reason, "successful" performances of students in desegregated schools, such as high academic grades, athletic skills, or "good citizenship," are applauded because they occur in a multi-racial setting. Encounters of this kind bring credit to the school and assist the organization in maintaining high levels of commitment on the part of "lower participants."

Racial encounters with negative implications for the school — disciplinary actions, fights, or poor academic achievement, especially by minority youth — are ignored. By shifting the prominence assigned to race under these different situations, school people do not deal with the basic contradiction between viewing desegregation as an oportunity for developing racial understandings and a situation requiring increasing control and restriction of student exchanges. Control becomes intermeshed in everyday interaction as a strategy to reduce violence or threats — real or not — and guarantee the minimal requirements for routine functioning. It is also implicit in the basic discipline and order thought to be necessary for a productive learning environment. The fact that control interferes with spontaneous association among students, often reduces opportunities for positive bi-racial contacts and leads to dysfunctional coping strategies in interpersonal relationships is not recognized. A sterile and hostile climate is often the unintended and unrecognized result of control measures.

Coping with Desegregation: Organizational Responses

Organizations structure responses of their members to events by establishing limits within which the members can acceptably adapt to situations. What we describe as "coping strategies" are the ways in which individuals manage to deal with the problems of race relations in desegregated schools: the strategies they find for handling difficulties that fit within the organizationally allowable responses to the event of desegregation. As David Mechanic (1974) has pointed out, most of the research on coping has focused on individual behaviors as the results of personal strengths or weaknesses; too often the social structural factors that also operate in real life situations are ignored. The social realities of schools as complex organizations have been neglected in examining the responses to the desegregation process, particularly in the examination of how organizational factors constrain those operating within schools in their adaptations to the changes that often accompany school desegregation.

We conclude that one of the most significant organizational mechanisms for responding to the event of court-ordered desegregation has been the imposition of additional control within schools. Initially, control mechanisms were instituted in schools as preventive measures directed at the perceived danger of violence surrounding the desegregation controversy. These measures were designed, at a minimum, to guarantee the safety of students and staff. Once these measures were instituted, however, they became institutionalized as part of routine school operations and, in some ways, the school became a hostage to these safety mechanisms. As we described above, these controls represented a move toward coercive compliance structures in public education. The shift to a coercive compliance structure affected interpersonal relationships, even when these had nothing to do with race (Etzioni, 1975). The fundamental normative basis of compliance that depended heavily upon agreed-upon values, and a consensus about the function of schools, was replaced by a new compliance structure based upon social control within the organization. We do not mean that schools became "prisons" and that no consensus existed to form the basis of cooperation among school personnel. There was, however, an important change in the commitment of many of the school's clients to the goals of the organization and a significant shift in the balance between normative and coercive compliance structures.

Developing controls may have been the only logical strategy that schools, as organizations, could follow. An essential element for the operation of any client-serving institution is a measure of safety and security. Schools are particularly vulnerable to the threats of disruption since they are dependent on the trust of their clients (students and parents) and the community they serve. If the level of trust is too drastically reduced, it interferes with school organization and reduces the effectiveness of all school operations. In effect,

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there no longer exists "a moral order" to which all parties "owe allegiance" (Metz, 1978:26). To many school staff members, desegregation orders represented a serious rebuke. Court orders reinforced the belief among many black parents and students that the school authorities had not tried to bring about "integrated education." If desegregation was also accompanied by controversy and violence, the problem of security was added. Thus, the concern with student safety and the control measures was not misguided: control as an organizational response was, to some extent, determined by the situation.

In very basic ways schools reflect the inability of our entire society to deal with differences. There are few models of successful race relations available even for those who approach desegregation with will and determination "to make it work." It is possible to mobilize community resources to implement the event of desegregation but it is much more difficult to develop strategies that deal with desegregation as a process of building sound race relations. The latter requires basic changes in attitudes and behaviors over time and this simply does not happen automatically. If a goal of desegregation is to change the experience of students in significant ways, attention to this goal requires many kinds of changes. But improving race relations became an objective secondary to the establishment of "safe" schools. Once the controls were instituted and developed, they not only interfered with the development of "good race relations," they helped to mask the problem of race relations itself.

The organizational emphasis on control — itself an organizational strategy for coping with the problems of desegregation — severely restricted the range of options open to individuals. The control parameters thought necessary not only for safety and security, but also for "good education," severely restricted the possibilities available for all in the school. Metz (1978:23) notes:

> ...the most pressing instrumental goals of the schools, those of coping with a hostile environment of students or of parents (or other influential community members), suggest a social structure and a technology diametrically opposed to that most suitable for furthering educational goals.

The imposition of controls and the implementation of a coercive basis for compliance as an organizational response to the problem of providing a safe environment for students involved just such a contradiction in organizational goals. This contradiction was not consciously understood or recognized by many in the school because, in most cases, they perceived the problem of coping with desegregation as an individual difficulty, and they sought individual strategies for managing the change. In some cases, the accepted definitions of desegregation provided group solutions (more control of the environment) that were never articulated in terms of desegregation, but were presented as ways to bring about a "stable learning environment." There was not intent to subvert or avoid desegregation directly, but rather an intent to manage the problems of desegregation through control.

Conclusion

We began this essay by making the distinction between desegregation as an event and desegregation as a process. We attempted to distinguish between a view of racial mixing of students in the public schools as a straightforward set of mechanical procedures designed to balance the racial composition of classrooms and a view of desegregation as part of the evolving process of race relations in American society. The former perspective is attractive because it offers those who must implement policy the opportunity to declare the policy accomplished; the latter view eschews such judgements and forces individuals to concentrate upon the ongoing social relationship between students of different races in the context of such relationships in the broader society. Our argument is that the view of desegregation as an event prevails among public educators and that this view detracts attention from the persistent problems of race relations among students in public schools which have been desegregated. By failing to attend to these problems, the view of desegregation as an event promotes individual strategies for coping with tensions that arise from the racial mixing of students. Since they have not concentrated upon the development of the social skills necessary for more harmonious relations among students of different races, public schools are forced to rely on the social competence which the individual students bring to the school situation. In turn, the students themselves are forced to "make do" as best they can in what, for them, are sometimes difficult situations. The school experience does little to increase the range of their options for dealing with these conditions.

The net result of these individual coping strategies is to accelerate the erosion of the normative basis for public education. The absence of an agreement about the value structure which supports public schooling contributes to the decline in confidence in public education as a whole, to a questionning of the value of desegregation policies, and to a growing dissatisfaction with public schools. Without agreed-upon norms, the purpose of education becomes blurred and there can be little sense of accomplishment about what schools are doing. Desegregation does not cause this lack of direction but it compounds it. Many are disillusioned because desegregation did not lead to important gains in the academic achievement of black students, or because desegregated schools did not substantially alter the pattern of race relations in the U.S. In hindsight, these expectations seem naive and unrealistic but the disillusionment at their failure is all the greater because there has been no central educational philosophy or shared purpose toward which goals could be directed, and against which progress measured.

The decline of normative compliance structures, we believe, encourages educational drift and, in part, explains the growing lack of confidence in public education. Again, desegregation did not cause this loss of confidence, but, in many cases, the implementation of desegregation policies revealed the fragility and shallowness of the normative structure that supported a conservative social institution operating within a turbulent, rapidly changing social environment. Larger numbers of students became alienated from the ideology of public education and isolated from any learning experience in public schools. As fewer students incorporate the norms and values of the institution as their own, school authorities must rely more heavily upon coercion as a basis for compliance. However, the increase in coercive compliance mechanisms contributes to the decline in academic achievement because it produces an unsatisfactory learning environment and diverts energy from learning to concerns about control. Increasingly, schools are seeking to standardize and to produce uniform products as counted and certified through competency exams, avoiding the more troublesome problems of developing more comprehensive and creative educational experiences. Coercion can mask the absence of normative foundations for public schooling, but only at higher and higher costs.

The view of desegregation as an event made it possible to separate desegregation from mainstream educational concerns. Issues related to the event of desegregation could be separated from those relating to problems of learning; in short, desegregation could be compartmentalized. Once successfully implemented on an arbitrary basis of numbers, desegregation could be viewed as finished and complete. There was little recognition of the difficulties of building good race relations in contemporary American society, of the complexities of dealing with varieties of interpretations of educational experiences or of the changes required to accommodate heterogeneous populations effectively.

Most ironic of all, the "eventness" of desegregation perpetuated the "eventness" of education as a whole. The illusion of normative consensus, typified in American schools by a "business as usual" stance in response to desegregation orders, has denied the reality of plurality and conflict. The absence of incidents or confrontations is considered evidence of success; empty rituals of graduation or grades cover the lack of meaningful learning experiences; external symbols dominate the image of public schools and hide the inauthenticity of school practices. In short, desegregation represents an illusion of change but little actual difference in school operations. By shifting to an increasingly coercive basis for compliance, the fundamental lack of purpose in contemporary public education can be disguised. The crisis of public schooling has not been averted but merely delayed.

III. The Organization and Representation of Social Race Relations in Six Desegregated Schools

By Dorothy C. Clement and J. Michael Livesay

Introduction

In his recent book, Ogbu (1978) argues that minority education in the United States is a reflex of racial stratification in the larger society. Although school desegregation strikes at one support of racial stratification by reducing the possibilities for dual educational systems, its potential, according to Ogbu's argument, must be considered in light of non-school institutions. To the degree that racial stratification is still manifest in other areas such as housing and particularly the occupational structure, desegregated schools face a paradoxical task. They are required to desegregate while at the same time they are pressured to respond to a societal context which culturally and structurally continues to reflect a profound cleavage between blacks and whites. In these schools, blacks, whites and other minority group members interact daily in close proximity supposedly on an equal basis, yet the institutions are preparing their clientele for two different worlds.

The accommodation of schools to these opposing stresses is the subject of this paper. In reviewing the ethnographic studies of desegregated schools[1] which are the subject of this volume, we have examined and analyzed the nature of black-white relations and the constraints that shape these relationships in the institutional setting of the school.

Conceptual Approach

Anthropological analyses of ethnic and social-race[2] relations have tended to emphasize as explanatory factors either cultural differences among groups or structural differences in the positions of these groups relative to one another. This tendency is reflected in anthropologists' analyses of minority children's difficulties with formal education in this country. A traditional emphasis on cultural differences and their negative or disruptive effects on school relationships is exemplified in Gallimore, *et.al.*'s (1974) discussion of Hawaiian-American students. Gallimore and his associates point out that these children use their home-derived knowledge and values concerning adult roles in the school, with the eventual result of disintegration of the teacher-student relationship.

Emphasis on the structural position of minority groups and its effect on minority students is more recent. This approach traces the reflection of the group's social structural position in the larger society, into the school, and, as exemplified in Rist

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[1] The studies discussed in this essay were funded by the National Institute of Education. They occurred simultaneously, were guided by some of the same research objectives, and benefitted from exchange among the researchers during the progress of the studies. The present essay is based upon the final project reports and papers of Clement, *et al.* (1978), Collins and Noblit (1978), Ianni, *et al* (1978), Noblit and Collins (1978), Scherer and Slawski (1978a, b), Schofield and Sagar (1977), Slawski and Scherer (1977), and Sullivan *et al.* (1978), and upon additional materials sent by the investigators.

[2] "Social-race" or "color" is used in place of "race" in order to distinguish between "race" as a biological concept pertaining to populations and "race" as a pseudo-biological folk concept used primarily in reference to individuals. "Social-race" is used to refer to the latter meaning (see Harris, 1975 for further elaboration).

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(1973), reveals the school's complicity in the transmission or replication of social structure.

The clearest example of a structural analysis is that of Ogbu (1978). Beginning with the assumption that American society is racially stratified, he goes on to argue that the nature of formal education follows. He gives little credence to the possibility that cultural differences could have an effect on minority performance, but instead argues that people in a society adjust their behavior (and culture) in line with what is allowed them as incumbents of ascribed social roles. Thus, black children, and children of other groups which belong to caste-like minorities, adjust their efforts in school according to their assessment of their future possibilities. Similarly, school officials adjust the education they provide to conform to their perception of the future, as do minority parents in socializing their children.

Integrating these two positions, Wax (1973) argues that minority group identities are essentially political and social identities, which may or may not be associated with cultural differences for particular individuals associated with such identities. This viewpoint, when applied to social race relations, suggests that both structural and cultural factors impinge upon the ways in which blacks and whites interact and describe their interactions with one another. Investigation at Grandin,[3] a desegregated elementary school in the south revealed such a mixture of constraints affecting social race relations in the school (Clement *et.al.*, 1978a, 1978b).

Social-race relations vary among the schools studied according to the different emphases in the process of adaptation to desegregation. In effect, each school represents a unique case of response, yet all can be described utilizing the same analytic categories. In some schools, cultural features seem to predominate in importance; in others, structural features predominate. The analytic model presented provides a frame for discussion of the patterns of interaction in desegregated schools. The situation in each school is described, using the model; general findings are summarized; and implications of these findings for intervention strategies are assessed.

The Model

Our approach conceptualizes cross-color relations as manifest in everyday interactions which are constrained by collective patterns at school and extra-school levels (see Figure 1). Three levels of focus are seen: (1) the interactional, (2) the school, and (3) the extra-school. These levels are analytically separated in order to isolate dynamic factors. The school is usefully set apart from the extra-school level, for schools are institutions which are to a degree autonomous in their internal structure, yet susceptible to external control. The distinction between the school and interactional levels reflects a similar relationship. Individuals interacting in any given encounter can choose to behave in many different ways. However, just as a school is affected by its context, the individuals in an interaction are conditioned by their context. Because of the organization of the social and physical environment, and because of the way in which cultural knowledge and values relate to interactions, encounters are constrained.

The interactional level

Social race and other such relations can be described as having two major, distinguishable but interrelated aspects: (1) a behavioral manifestation which is referred to here as "patterns of encounters;" (2) a linguistic-symbolic manifestation which is referred to here as "patterns of representation." Patterns of encounters are the observable recurrent features of contacts between social-race members: the theme of these contacts, the variety of types of contacts, and their distinctiveness from same-color interactions. Patterns of representation are the ways in which people in the school describe these black-white contacts and relations.

Representations are the statements made by the actors about cross-social-race or other interactions and are thus the models used to explain the encounters to others. These frames isolate the set of social identities (such as teacher, student, principal) that allow the anticipation, explanation, and evaluation of behavior in a given encounter. As shall be seen, social-race identities are not necessarily referred to or made explicit in representations of cross-color interactions. (For a

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[3] All school names are pseudonyms.

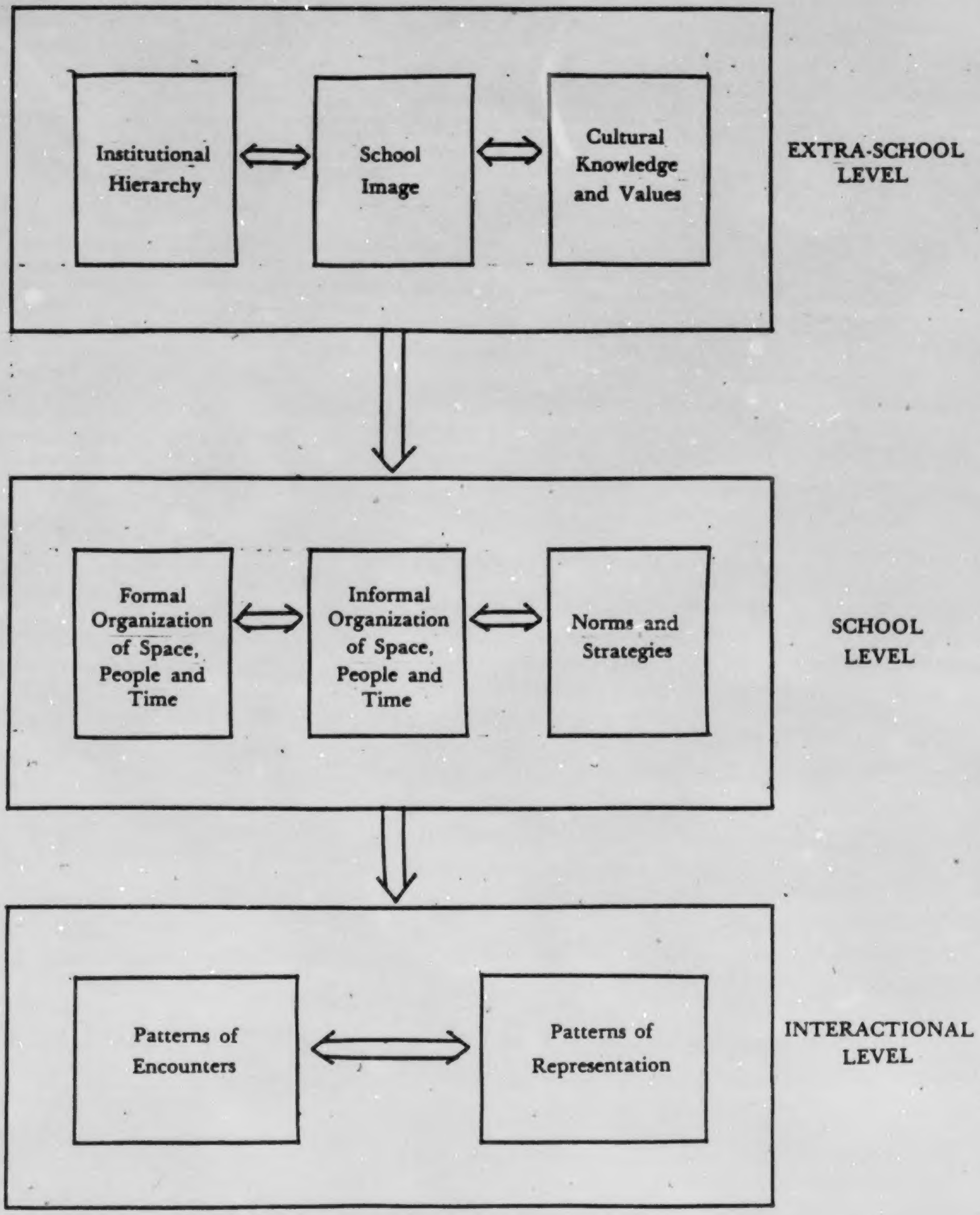
Institutional Hierarchy
School Image
Cultural Knowledge and Values
EXTRA-SCHOOL LEVEL
Formal Organization of Space, People and Time
Informal Organization of Space, People and Time
Norms and Strategies
SCHOOL LEVEL
Patterns of Encounters
Patterns of Representation
INTERACTIONAL LEVEL

FIGURE 1: FACTORS CONSTRAINING INTERACTIONAL PATTERNS IN THE SCHOOL

more detailed discussion of "representations" see Clement, 1977.)

The application of a particular representation to a given encounter may be problematic and a matter for negotiation. Not only may the situation be ambiguous, the participants may disagree over the interpretation to be presented, which may involve conflicts concerning the relevant and appropriate social identities. When participants disagree about how the incident should be represented, the conflict is difficult to resolve. These disrupting encounters are referred to here as a type of "symbolic encounter." Charges of racism usually fall into this category since "racial incidents" often involve disputes about which social identities are affecting the behavior of the participants. (See Clement *et.al.*, 1978b, for a more detailed description of this concept.)

A striking aspect of these case studies of desegregated schools is the variation in the frames of representation used to describe cross-color relations relative to the restricted variation in the encounters. It is useful to consider the types of encounters and representations actually found in the schools in order to demonstrate the range exhibited as well as to illustrate the kind of social phenomena being discussed.

Predominant patterns of encounters

Types of cross-color encounters in the schools may be roughly characterized by a small number of categories. One style may be thought of as *"cooperative" encounters.* These cross-color interactions involve various cooperative activities such as responsibility for tasks or projects shared among students in the classroom, or responsibility for other school requirements. In these interactions, social-race identities are not made explicit and the type of contact does not differ in any observable way from similar encounters that occur between members of the same social-race.

In some schools, cooperation among different social-race members is also seen in joint participation in special activities and interest groupings such as clubs and other extra-curricular activities. Every school has examples of activities with mixed participation as well as activities that are voluntarily segregated; the proportion of one form relative to another varies from school to school. Cooperative encounters can also take the form of instrumental transactions where specific short-term outcomes are desired by the interacting parties, these goals being the salient aspects of the encounter. For the older students, for example, there are cases reported of cross-color exchanges of drugs wherein the purchase of drugs constitutes the focus of the interaction.

These patterns of cooperative encounters are seen in different degrees in all the schools investigated; in some, they seem to be the predominant form of cross-social-race contact. It should be noted that they are very much constrained by the settings for interaction created in the school. In some of the schools, for example, teachers purposely establish work groups or dyads that are mixed by social-race, thus increasing the possibility for these cooperative interactions. (See Sagar and Schofield, this volume, for a fuller discussion.)

Cooperative encounters may be contrasted with a second general pattern of more limited and restricted encounters: *"Stereotypic" role interactions.* An example of a "stereotypic encounter" is what students in one school refer to as "hassling." (See Scherer and Slawski, this volume, for a discussion of "hassling.") A characteristic course of such relationships shows blacks initiating the encounter, in ways whites usually interpret as aggressive or threatening, which then elicits various responses aimed at avoiding the interaction. "Hassling" type relationships are thus stereotypic in that habitual, social-race-identity related behaviors are performed which elicit standard and reinforcing responses.

Other types of stereotypic relationships involve those based on assumptions about social-race or ethnic-group specific activities. Examples include tendencies by students to enroll in courses identified with their group and to avoid those associated with others, or of school adults to assign students to classes on the basis of assumed "interests" of social-race members.

If cooperative and stereotypic types of encounters are thought of in terms of restrictions or limitations in the encounter, then the third type, *"blocked encounters,"* represents an even more restricted form. These are situations in which encounters are rendered impossible by the lack of proximity or by efforts of the potential participants to withdraw or avoid interaction. Separation of black and white students may be encouraged, both by the manner in which students informally organize themselves and by the manner in which the school organizes the students. Where students demarcate and protect certain spaces against members of other social-race or ethnic groups, as in the high schools, encounters across color lines are less possible. In one high school, for example, free-lunch participants are required to use a lunch line separate from that used by those not participating in the program. In other schools, tracking tends to resegregate students into different classrooms so that contact is less possible. Since free lunch programs, tracks, and other means by which students are sorted tend not to reflect the social-race proportions in the school, students have their possible contacts restricted along social-race lines.

Blocked encounters also result from efforts of individuals to withdraw from the desegregated setting. Students sometimes develop strategies for avoiding certain settings or situations. Others avoid, though perhaps not specifically for reasons of avoiding other social-races, desegregated settings through cutting classes, not attending school, or withdrawing from the institution altogether by moving or transferring. (See Sagar and Schofield, this volume, for a discussion of patterns of resegregation.)

The patterns of encounters can be arranged on a continuum in terms of restriction or narrowness of the relationships. Blocked encounters constitute cases in which encounters are essentially nonexistent. Stereotypic and cooperative encounters illustrate increasing levels of interaction. There is a fourth type of encounter which is the least restricted but less common. Although cross social-race relationships are common, the development of *deeper friendship* relationships between blacks and whites seems to be much less so. In all the schools examined, close relationships were reported only for occasional individuals; there are a larger number of cases of casual acquaintances reported. These relationships may develop within the context of cooperative type encounters and seem more likely in schools where such encounters are fostered.

Predominant Patterns of Representation

The patterns of encounters described above do not necessarily match the ways in which school participants would present the pattern. The patterns of representation seem to be produced by perspectives which may be distinct from those directly expressed in the encounter patterns as seen by the observer. In addition, the patterns of representation are themselves constrained by various factors. Thus, they offer only a particular explanation for the relationship patterns. Yet these explanations are an important part of the social reality confronting school participants, and the rules for their application are one of the sets of constraints on overall interactional outcomes. In each of the schools studied there is a typical or dominant model used to discuss and explain interactions between members of different social-race groups. The degree to which social-race identities are salient in the representations of the patterns of encounters forms a continuum along which desegregated schools may be placed.

At the end of the continuum are those patterns of representation which deny or de-emphasize social-race as a relevant category in describing, explaining, or evaluating an encounter. At the other is public acknowledgement of social-race as an explicitly relevant category. Although each school tends to have a combination of the patterns of encounters described above, the representations in each school are sufficiently different to discuss them separately. In addition, in one school the replacement of the principal brought about a structural reorganization and a resulting change in social-race interaction patterns. In the following, the schools will be discussed in order of their emphasis on social-race identities.

The most extreme avoidance of social-race categories is found at Wexler, where there is essentially a taboo against the consideration of social-race in the representation of relationships and encounters. This restriction is so strong that there appears to be difficulty in even bringing up the possibility of alternative interpretations which include ethnic or social-race identity in some manner. Symbolic encounters in which racism is suspected elicit particularly agitated responses, especially from school adults. Instead of (social) racial identities, explanations and justifications, especially those of the teachers, are stated in terms of academic merit and individual effort and achievement.

At Grandin, (social) racial identities are not utilized in public representations, but avoidance is less extreme. Explicit references to these identities in interaction is treated as somewhat impolite. Problems and disagreements tend to be interpreted in terms of personality differences or, in the case of student problems with school requirements, in terms of social class related difficulties. Interpretations of symbolic encounters as stemming from racism or having overtones of racism are avoided, and are disturbing to participants when they occur. White teachers and administrators in particular are concerned lest their actions be erroneously represented as racist.

At Pawnee West, there is neither a taboo on, nor public avoidance of, the explicit acknowledgement of (social) racial identities. Social-racial identities are not denied yet they are not attributed importance or relevance in interaction. They are not a central focus of the school's interpretations and are treated as subordinate explanatory factors if they are seen as having any effect whatsoever. The dominant mode of representation there is a "rhetoric of concern" which emphasizes student safety and receipt of valuable educational experiences. Interactions among students, problematic events, and symbolic encounters are represented in terms of their implications for the students' best interest and are evaluated with respect to the extent of concern or care exhibited or implied in them.

Crossover High School is somewhat similar to Pawnee West in that (social) racial identities are not tabooed as category yet are viewed as irrelevant or subordinate to other themes in describing patterns of encounters. There, the assumption of bureaucratic equality wherein each individual has the same status, blocks the application of explanations which place primary emphasis on ethnic or (social) racial identity. Such explanations are seen as insufficient, although (social) racial factors are not rejected. Racial categories are subordinate to the records, procedures, and academic evaluations by which students are categorized. Students, among themselves, speak of group identity as affecting patterns of encounters, yet such overt expression is difficult in the school context. As a factor in the negotiation of positions and behaviors in the school, social-race is excluded even though its existence is recognized.

The dominant pattern of representation at this school has shifted from a previous frame in which social-race had legitimated salience as a factor in the explanatory models for encounters. At that time, students were allowed to negotiate their positions with one another and their positions in the structure of the school using group membership and group interest as definitions of their bargaining stances. This frame changed with the installation of a new principal who sought to impose bureaucratic order on the school.

The last school, Sheridan, displays a pattern of representation similar to the early experience at Crossover. Social-race and ethnic identities are explicitly utilized to explain and describe encounters. Ethnic identities are brought into the school by the participants and are seen as an important basis for relationships. Both school adults and students often speak of cross-color contacts in terms which suggest these interactions are seen as encounters between group representatives.

School level constraints

Collective patterns in the school restrict and constrain the patterns of encounters and representations described above. As a result, certain outcomes are more likely than others. People, space, and activities in schools are organized both by official mandate and by informally constituted rules. (Again, see Figure 1). This organization increases the possibility of certain encounters while it decreases the possibility of others. At Pawnee West, for example, students are limited in their interactions to those with whom they share classes or informal periods, because situations in which larger groups can form are generally avoided. Tracking also contributes to restricted or "blocked" encounters.

The organization of people into school categories tends to constrain the nature of encounters. Lacey (1970) and others such as McDermott (1974) have shown clearly how differentiation of students along a status continuum by school adults affects the formation of friendship groups. In schools where such status distinctions are emphasized, students tend to reflect this differentiation by polarization of student groups against one another. In the study schools where whites, for example, are over-represented on one end of the continuum, differentiation by school adults is found to produce an environment hostile to the interaction of blacks and whites.

Collective patterns at the school level may also be student-maintained. In schools where students demarcate and maintain territories according to social-race and ethnic group membership, encounters across these lines are severely constrained. Thus, both formal and informal organization of space, people, and activities in the school tend to affect situations in which cross-group interaction is possible.

The possibility of withdrawal from the school situation is also an important organizational condition affecting interactions. Withdrawal from the school in general or from particular classes is an alternative that tends not to be impeded in the study schools. In two of the high schools, for example, class cutting is common with some students coming to school but not attending any classes. Instead they "hang around" with students of their choice. Because of these possibilities for withdrawal, students, in effect, can avoid interacting with members of the other social-race group. A pattern of blocked encounters is the result.

Another constraint on inter-race encounters and representations derives from school norms and strategies for cross-color interaction. Norms prescribe and proscribe interactional behaviors as well as representational frames. At Wexler, the model of extreme avoidance of (social) racial identity, student problems and interactions are described in terms of individual achievement and effort. The norm is so strong against the use of racial identities in explaining interaction that it is referred to as a taboo.

Students also develop norms and strategies for dealing with problematic encounters. A white student, for example, tried to comfort a friend who, upset by an incident in the girl's restroom, was crying at her desk. Soon a group of black students gathered around the desk. The white girl who was trying to comfort her friend approached the investigator, saying, "When they (the black students) get into a group, I get away." These strategies tend to promote blocked or stereotypic kinds of encounters.

Extra-school level constraints

Schools do not totally determine their own internal organization. Although the negotiation of behavioral and representational norms is an ongoing one in the school, the leeway for variation in these norms is limited by the institution's dependence upon the extra-school context for resources, personnel, and approval.[4] Directives from the district, including those designed to comply with state and national policy, shape internal school organization. Although they are often modified in the individual schools, these directives affect such organizational aspects as the mix of students in the classroom and student eligibility for special classes. The source of these constraints is referred to in Figure 1 as "institutional hierarchy."

Another influence upon the internal order of the school derives from the cultures of the community from which the school draws its personnel, including students, and by which the school is conceptualized as a particular type of institution. School personnel bring sets of norms, ways of interpreting and describing social situations, and values with them into the school. These frames of representation and notions of proper ways in which to treat others influence the particular frames and norms negotiated in the social order of the school. In communities which are organized around (social) racial and ethnic identities, it is not surprising that these categories are salient in the school. In other areas where neighborhoods may be residentially segregated with little contact and little daily dependence on (social) racial or ethnic categories, other cultural features may be more dominant in providing representational and behavioral norms in the school.

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[4] It is interesting and informative to note that most of the social-race relevant pressures on the school from the extra-school level are in the form of structural requirements. Schools are pressured, for example to retain their white populations, to control manifestations of violence and disruption, or to produce test scores of a given level. The quality of cross-color relationships does not seem to be included in pressures placed upon the schools. Were this to be so, then we might expect the schools to adapt these requirements as they have to other expectations and demands.

The source of influence or constraint which we have labeled "cultural knowledge and values" is not an unequivocal source. Even in a single locale it is likely that there are a number of groups with differing traditions. Thus, school participants bring with them somewhat discordant orientations that may come into conflict within the school setting. This discordance surfaces, for example, in symbolic encounters where a framework other than that negotiated in the school is applied to a situation. In one school, for example, the norm was to avoid representations of acts as racist, yet in a few cases such charges were made or implied. For example, a black teacher confronted a white teacher who was planning a field trip with the suggestion that viewing the film, "Gone With the Wind," (the trip's objective) was inappropriate because of the representation of blacks in the film. The white teacher was agitated and surprised, asserting that the movie presented a past era. Rejecting the implication of racism, she interpreted the black teacher as being "oversensitive."

A final source of constraint on the school is referred to here as "school image." School image is informed by the other two components; it concerns the conceptualization that outsiders have of the school as a representative of educational institutions in general and of others in the community in particular. This image affects parents' efforts to get their children into or out of the school, the efforts of teachers to locate in the school, and the decisions that community political groups as well as district offices make about special resources or sanctions that should apply to the school. As it is perceived by the school participants, the need to present a particular external image clearly affects the type of social order that is established in the schools. Behavioral and representational norms in the study schools are related to the image of the school that school participants work to present and maintain to one another and to outsiders. One school has the reputation of being one of the warmer and friendlier schools in the district. Teachers indicate that they have positive feelings about the school and want others to see it as a relatively friendly place. This image is related to norms for positive cooperative behavior and the avoidance of conflict.

Case Studies of Desegregated Schools

In the following section, illustrative material from the ethnographic field studies reviewed by this volume are presented in roughly the hierarchical order suggested by the model described above. That is, background information is provided first (see Sullivan, this volume, for detailed community characteristics), then a description of factors found at the community and district levels which lead to the constrained interactional patterns. The cases are presented as they are located on the continuum relating to the salience of social race identities in representations of cross-color interactions with the least salient first.

A middle school in the Northeast: academic emphasis

Wexler Middle School is located in a large industrial northeastern city. The city contains a diverse ethnic population, with approximately a fifth of the city's inhabitants being black. Residential segregation has concentrated this minority group, however, with the majority of the blacks residing in heavily segregated and economically depressed neighborhoods. The school system has a population which is approximately 40 percent black, with half the schools in the system having 90 percent black or white enrollment. The city schools in general are not segregated. Wexler, however, is a fairly new middle schol (grades 6, 7, and 8) which was established with the goal of racial balance. The white students at the school generally come from middle to upper middle class families while the majority of blacks are working or lower class. The faculty is about one-quarter black.

The participants at Wexler are conditioned by extra-school expectations of academic excellence and their internal goals seem to be consistent with those desires. Resistance to desegregation by the city whites was initially overcome by the emphasis on the school's strong academic program and its "outstanding" facilities and equipment. Although the principal and administrative staff appear to be somewhat concerned about the school's progress as an "integrated" institution, the participants in general seem to see the school primarily in terms of its academic goals and its image of quality education. This internal image is generated not only by the necessity for the school to present itself in such a manner as to appear responsive to community expectations, but also by the norms of the school participants, particularly the teachers. Both black and white faculty members feel that social-race should not be used as a sorting or selection criterion for anything. Teachers agree that "racially" motivated negative behavior should not be tolerated. However, they tend not to see behavior as racially motivated.

At Wexler, school adults have an "academics first" orientation which specifies that the proper role for the teacher is to focus on the provision of educational opportunities and the academic achievement of individual students. Exhibiting an implicit assimilative stance, the school tone indicates that mere contact is sufficient to improve inter-group relations. (See Sagar and Schofield, this volume, on the assimilationist perspective.) Thus, there is little attempt to structure classes or other settings in such a way that interracial relationships are promoted, or dealt with explicitly at all, except as constrained by school policy which seeks racial balance in the divisions of the school.

School participants have adopted a position which holds that social-race considerations are irrelevant to the tasks of the school. It is considered unfair or inappropriate to bring up race as an element in representations of student (and other) relationships. Often, notice of such identity is taken as a sign of possible prejudice. The teachers believe that their students share this perspective.

There is, then, a strong dominant norm about representations which forbids school participants from making direct reference to the fact that there are such things as social-races or ethnic groups. The results include the absence of references to social-race in school mottos or decorations, the description of racial problems as minimal or nonexistent, the avoidance of interpreting incidents in terms of racial implications, and the consequent disruptions occasioned by symbolic encounters which move factors of social-race into salient positions. In addition, the norms seem to prohibit consideration of such facts as the disproportionately high suspension rate of black students (80 percent of suspended students are black). Instead, interpretations are made on the basis of evaluations of individual responsibility potential, consistent with the orientations described above.

In this school, the students have overtly adopted perspectives for within-school behavior which do not contradict the norms and rules indicated by the teachers. Certainly the condemnation of racial references in the school restricts the representations which students can provide to explain inter-group encounters.

Besides these effects on student representations, the orientations exhibited by the school adults are important in the definition of the reward structure of the institution and, to some extent, define the significant dimensions of student status. The rewards offered by the teachers and the school in general are academically focused, such as inclusion on the honor roll. Academic competition is fostered and encouraged, although the school administrative staff has attempted to reduce it. Academic jealousy sometimes appears to be the basis for intimidation in encounters, often from blacks to whites.

Relationships characterized by inter-racial intimidation form a major portion of the interactions seen at Wexler. These stereotypic encounters are a mild expression of the "hassle" type relationships mentioned earlier and occur especially between males. Social-race differences in knowledge and values are observable in these interactions; blacks tend to initiate the encounters, often through physical contact, which whites view as threatening. The whites' rule for response in these situations seem to be to submit, to passively withdraw from the encounter, or to ignore the contact. The results are, in general, restricted relationships.

Students' patterns of friendship reflect a predominance of same-color choices; nonetheless, they comply with the colorblind norm in representations of their relationships. Students respond to direct questions concerning social-race, for example, by checking with the questioning adult: "Is it all right to say?"[5]

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[5] It is possible that conformity to the norm is enhanced by the fact that Wexler is a new school with special organizational features, e.g., a team and formal class organization. Students arriving from the various schools under the open enrollment plan would be most susceptible to teacher influence, as these school norms

Students' informal groupings by social-race seem to be affected in part by the formal and semi-formal organization of contact and the form of encounters between the social-races. In the eighth grade, the special scholars' track is predominantly white and other special programs also differentiate the groups. Teams (the divisions under which classes are organized) are established by test scores and quotas in such a way that they are racially and academically heterogeneous. However, class assignments and teacher rearrangements are usually structured to emphasize academic homogeneity for instructional purposes. Within classes, the "academic first" orientation conditions the focus of attention. In general, school organization subordinates social-race to concern about educational standards and academic goals as a basis for grouping so that non-competitive and informal contacts between social-race members are restricted.

The result is the creation of a setting in which (social) racial identity is rarely mentioned, ignored as an interpretation of encounters, and disallowed (generally) as an overt consideration in the organization of space, persons and activities. This occasionally leads to symbolic or other encounters which are difficult to manage. For example, the principal of the school organized for the teachers a series of training seminars presented by psychologists specializing in race relations. The teachers were extremely uncomfortable in these situations and at one point responded to the leader's presentation by suggesting that anyone who would discuss the degree of (social) racial identity of a person had to be "sick." Since the teachers' taboo prohibited focus on social-race, teachers had great difficulty with the Advisory classes which were set up to allow discussion of kinds of interpersonal relationships, particularly race relations.

Among students, the general pattern of interaction was one in which harmonious and effective cooperation could occur between social-race members. The de-emphasis on group identity, however, led to structures which tended to block deeper contacts or the negotiation of problematic aspects of inter-racial relationships, such as status competition. Students informally organized them, to deal with these aspects of their own, although not necessarily in positive ways. For example, white males, unwilling to withdraw from the physical ranking dimension of status competition, at one point formed what they informally termed self-defense and cooperation "clubs." These were racially-segregated and were privately represented as a mechanism to achieve a better position with regard to the perceived threats of "hassling." Apparently in response, blacks organized their own clubs, which they represented as "sports clubs" and which seemed to be less focused on mutual support for defense and more on the promotion of group solidarity. Given their perspectives, school adults were understandably very upset by the formation of these groups and took steps to constrain them, sending messages home to parents and officially condemning the clubs.

Grandin: de-emphasis of traditional school reward patterns

Grandin is an upper elementary school in a small southern city. The city's schools were first significantly desegregated by a court order in 1970 and brought to racial balance, again by court order, in 1975. During the study period, Grandin's student population, with its 35-65 white-black composition, was slightly out of compliance with the order, having too many whites. The majority of the students are from working class families.

A major response to desegregation here involved a change in extra-school level factors expressed in district-wide policies for such areas as grading. The changes could be described as a reorganization away from the traditional reward structure of the schools, with its clear designations of successful and unsuccessful students, toward a system in which the standards and rewards for success and failure are muted. In place of the traditional system, emphasis was placed on alternative modes of instruction described as remedial programs. Efforts were to be made to bring students who were falling behind, as measured by standardized tests, up to standard through programs based on individual instruction. During this period, quality remedial programs for math and reading were emphasized although they

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would provide an immediate and available set of rules for fitting into the new setting.

were not available to all who were eligible for them. This approach was accompanied by the use of mainstreaming or maintaining heterogeneous classes except for special class periods during the day. Regular classes were required to be racially balanced.

To some extent, disciplinary methods and student placement have been constrained by procedural guidelines, while evaluation standards in elementary school have been reduced as a basis for rewarding students. A reorientation occurred in the case of other school practices as well. Prior to school desegregation, teachers were required to make "home visits" for each of their pupils. Following desegregation, teachers were encouraged, but not required, to visit. This practice has diminished significantly, if not essentially disappeared.

The district has undergone, since desegregation and especially in the last two years, an increase in the representation of blacks in the decision-making bodies of the school district. Although there is a current counter trend, during the seven years that the schools have been desegregated the district has adopted or maintained policies which decrease the differentiation of students by achievement in the elementary grades and which increase the use of explicit procedures in assigning students to groups and in meting out punishments and rewards to students. In addition, the district has discouraged, and continues to discourage, the use of social-race categories in the formal or semi-formal systems of the school (except for the purpose of achieving racial balance in the schools and in the regular classrooms) and otherwise has attempted to eliminate the potential for discriminatory charges by making procedures more explicit.

These district-level policies specify a number of aspects of the organization of people, space, and activities at Grandin. The older patterns of (social) racial interaction in the South are not acceptable; instead, the patterns displayed are more comparable to polite, friendly treatment of an equal, although not perhaps an intimate equal. The friendly, hospitable patterns are also valued because they fit the image that is cherished in the school: one of the nicer schools with a friendly, cooperative, easy-to-get-along-with staff.

The resulting pattern of cross-color encounters at Grandin can be described as harmonious but somewhat tenuous. The legacy of negative social-race terminology, the framework of racism, and the history of social-race relations in this country are not unfamiliar to school participants. Students, for example, know derogatory racial terms although they use them infrequently. Acts are sometimes represented as being racist, again infrequently, and the white oppression of blacks in the past is one of the few ways in which black-white relations are explicitly represented in public. This legacy is better suited for use in the expression of hostility and schism; yet in the face of this potential for cleavage, relative harmony is maintained in the school.

Support for the pattern of cooperative social encounters derives from three sources. First, the normative structure tends to de-emphasize the importance of social-race and acts against public proclamations of suspected racism. Norms also prohibit overt racism, favoritism, and explicit reference to social-race except in very restricted contexts. Norms of polite cooperation favor, at the least, an air of sociability and mutual acceptance.

A second source of support for harmony at Grandin derives from the shared frame of representation among teachers concerning the origin of the educational problems of many of Grandin's students. School adults agree that lower-income children are often faced with poor home conditions that cause them problems in school. Problems that in the past might have been attributed by whites to social-race are now attributed to social class. Teachers, students, and administrators who do not share in the consensus, who violate norms against favoritism and for sociability, or who for other reasons have not been able to adjust to the changes accompanying desegregation, have tended to withdraw.

A third basis for harmony lies in the district policies which have decreased potential sources of black-white conflict and competition. There is less for teachers to disagree about among themselves in the rewarding of students, less clear indications of the success of black students relative to whites, and fewer decisions for parents to dispute. De-emphasis on the school's differentiation among students may have promoted student harmony as well. Although some incidents of stereotypic encounters have occurred, these seem to be relatively infrequent.

The harmony achieved at Grandin is not deep.

Few close friendships have developed among students, but cooperative encounters are quite frequent. Social norms bear the weight of promoting harmony, rather than personal ties. The somewhat superficial nature of the harmony is indicated by privately revealed inter-racial problems. Although there are a few incidents which are described in public as having racial overtones, both teachers and students have experiences which trouble them because they sense the applicability of racism as a framework for interpreting the encounter. These experiences affect both blacks and whites.

Teachers are left virtually on their own to decide to what extent and how to instruct students about social-race. As might be expected, given the sensitivity of the subject, there is limited direct instruction or attention paid in classes to such problems. Students are encouraged to behave appropriately relative to the norms of polite cooperation fostered in the school, yet they have little related rationale or ideology to motivate this behavior or to explain incidents that violate the norms. Thus, on the one hand, the climate at Grandin seems to avoid a high frequency of stereotypic and other disruptive encounters, allowing a high degree of cooperative encounters. On the other hand, student efforts at establishing closer relationships are often blocked due to slight cultural differences in style. They receive little assistance from most school adults in handling these problems and in understanding the stereotypic encounters that do occur.

A Midwestern high school: assuring student safety

Pawnee West is a high school (grades 9 through 12) with approximately 2500 students, located in a medium-sized midwestern working-class city. The area has many urban poor, a substantial black population, white outmigration to nearby suburbs, and a labor force employed primarily by factories in the area. Unemployment has been a severe problem in recent years. Residential segregation is observed, and a traditional ghetto area is near the school. Pawnee West is an old school in the area and was until 20 years ago the only high school. It recently (within the last ten years) moved to new facilities, located very near its previous site. Desegregation was by court order in the early 1970s, one of the first such orders issued for a northern city.

Violence and disruption occurred during the desegregation process which generated a substantial concern for safety in the school and fears that the learning environment of the institution might be impaired by future problems. In response to community feeling and its concern with stable educational processes, the superintendent and the school board present as their "chief mandate" to the school the avoidance of injury to students. This directive is taken quite seriously by school participants, and safety is represented both externally and internally as the primary concern of the institution. In order to achieve this goal, the high school presents a "walled-off" image to the outside world and to staff and students. The theme is exclusion of disruptive influences from outside and is expressed in terms of the accessibility of the building.

The concern for safety and the desire for a stable school environment is expressed by a focus on control of space and time. School adults believe it important to control these dimensions of school experience in order to manage student activities and restrict undesirable influences. Integration is an important but general value; although it is sometimes referred to in the evaluations of situations and plans, desegregation is usually taken to be an accomplished condition. In fact, a mild resentment is occasionally expressed when social-race appears as a primary focus of community and district observation of the school. While acknowledged, social-race considerations are felt to be subordinate to the goal of providing a safe and effective learning environment. That goal primarily informs evaluative criteria for school organization and structure.

Consistent with the view of desegregation as an accomplished fact is a general reluctance among school participants to talk about social-race. When mentioned, it is employed to point out the ethnic diversity of the situation, emphasizing, for example, the "All-American" aspects of the school and the city. Such representations are part of the dominant model used for the expressed interpretations of the school situation, emphasizing concern for individuals and their welfare: the "rhetoric of concern." The general message is that caring is essential for effective education. In effect, the "rhetoric of concern" is a way of talking about control, for the expressions of such control in organizing school space, activities, and people is justified as being in the best interest of the students and exhibiting the kind of care important to establish an effective learning environment. The representational rhetoric employs non-specific and ambiguous statements with general content which can be interpreted with a wide range of meanings. Thus, the model can be applied flexibly and can be safely expressed to the larger community.

The group values informing this representational style and the focus on concern by the teachers and staff include the belief that learning can change people, implying that students undisturbed by outside influences will resolve racial (and other) interactional problems. However, since students can learn to be "better" by inter-racial contacts, safe settings should be provided for those encounters.

Inappropriate behavior is seen to stem from home influences and not school conditions, thus supporting an exclusionary orientation and a control stance. Problems with students are to be addressed with a focus on the individual character. Such focus provides a channel for the expression of care and sincere interest, which is seen as the proper approach to problem solution. For example, to solve racial problems, it is stated that one-to-one relationships based on caring should be formed.

The rhetoric of concern as the dominant representational frame seems to contribute to the school's presentation of the theme of controlling student behavior in the building. It may also serve to build trust and indicate responsiveness to expectations in the community. The school is seen as a safe site for mixing and as providing opportunities for racial interactions where the environment has been stabilized in order to prevent the kind of confrontations and disruptions which occurred in the past. However, with regard to establishing the conditions under which black and white encounters occur, the stances and norm described tend to deny the effect of group mechanisms and thus to restrict any systematic school approach to student relationships. To the extent that the rhetoric of concern disguises structural mechanisms, it contributes to the maintenance of restricted relationships.

In the organization of school life, the control theme is expressed in the staff's emphasis on tight and complete scheduling of time and activities, and the removal of opportunities for potentially disruptive encounters by restricting access to space. For example, since the period of disruption, no lunches have been served in the school and the lunch room has been closed to students. The overall effect of school organization is to reduce biracial contacts among students. Students' time is fitted around the "official" time, with association with friends being the major organizing principle. Students also adopt what can be termed avoidance strategies, which further block contacts between different groups, including avoidance of turfs or of areas which are seen as trouble spots. These avoidance strategies are apparently learned early in the school career and include appropriate responses to certain stereotypic encounters, such as hassling. Hassle type relationships, in this school, seem to be the dominant mode of interaction between black and white students.

Racial identity appears to be an important criterion for the informal organization of space, people, and activities. Those few contacts between social-race members where group identity does assume less importance seem to be directly related to the degree of student involvement in academic work, certain special activities, and cooperative ventures in general, i.e., the cooperative encounter pattern. The structural situation of the school and focus on separation of groups seems to allow room for the establishment of one-to-one interracial relationships of varying intensity. However, students report strong pressures from peers to restrict "crossing over," including reprisals for violation of the avoidance norm.

The major outcomes of the above factors are blocked encounters, stereotypic encounters, subordination of racial identity in representations to the rhetoric of concern, and the focus on order. The effects of some of the school norms can be seen in two school events, which occurred during a period when the school had been cautiously experimenting with the reintroduction of extracurricular and large scale activities. A girl's basketball game was held, after which some confrontations and violence occurred. The event in general was viewed as unsuccessful, primarily attributed to ineffective exclusion of outside influences. The other activity was the homecoming dance. This event was held in the gym and carefully monitored, with a large number of adults being present. A "white" band and "black" band were provided. Black students occupied positions along one wall of the gym and danced only when the black band played, while whites stationed themselves on the wall opposite the blacks and did not dance while the black band played. This event was interpreted as a very successful one; there were no upsetting encounters, no confrontations or violence, outsiders were successfully excluded, and the setting was represented as being a desirable and stable one.

A deep-South high school: politics to bureaucratic control

Crossover is a high school with approximately 500 students located in a large southern city. Enrollment was 60 percent black during the first year of investigation and 70 percent after the second year. Previously, the school had incorporated grades one through twelve and served almost exclusively a high status, upper middle class white area of the city. Several years ago, under court order, the school was paired with a black school in an adjacent black neighborhood. At that time, Crossover was changed to a high school only, and the paired school became a junior high school. That change and other moves toward desegregation in previous years introduced substantial numbers of blacks into the student body and to the staff. The student body now includes four major groups which are referred to by the investigators as follows: (1) honor students (middle and upper class whites), (2) blue collar whites, (3) active blacks (pursuing academic success, from higher status families), and (4) lower-class blacks.

Blacks in the city have played an important role in the desegregation of the schools. Even before the court-ordered procedures which led to pairing, black efforts had succeeded in forcing some desegregation of school facilities in the area. Desegregation was resisted and feared, however, by the majority of the city's white population and, as a result of the school changes, support for public education has eroded.

Crossover is an important school in this process. It had been one of the very high status schools in the district, with an excellent reputation for academic quality and social opportunities. Thus, the school could ideally provide a show case for peaceful and academically successful desegregation. Such was the need and expectation of the school district and the hope of those in the city who still supported or relied on public education. Failure in the desegregation process at Crossover would significantly contribute to the declining image of the city's schools.

At the time of the pairing, Crossover received a new principal, a former staff member (black) of the paired black school, as well as more black teaching staff from that school. The principal was very aware of the demands and expectations on his position and on his new school. In addition to maintaining the good image of the school and avoiding disruptions or friction in the school operations, successful desegregation was interpreted as holding white students. The principal attempted to achieve this goal by allowing negotiation of the power and positions of the different groups within the school, through manipulation of access to the reward structure.

The characteristic style of the school during this period was one of negotiated order: students committed to the school were allowed to modify their positions and rewards by reference to their individual case or to group identification. Consequently, issues of social-race and group identity were salient to the process of school life. Whites were allowed the advantages they held, as part of a negotiation concerning their continuing presence at Crossover and their support of the school. However, attempts to maintain balance between blacks and whites were made, for example, in the provision of a balanced honor roll and in the policy of having both black and white cheerleaders and a mixture of cheer styles. Black complaints about lenient discipline practices for whites were openly voiced and tolerated. Disagreements could be phrased as related to social-race in their origins, and group affiliation could be openly discussed and used as a criterion for the informal organization of space and activities. It appears that such a representational style was useful in maintaining a stable order at Crossover. Although groups may have had complaints, they knew that social-race could openly be a dimension of negotiations for power and position in the school.

Teacher orientations to the students varied. The traditional academic focus was found in the older staff (i.e., those present before desegregation). The newer black staff, while concerned with the academic progress of the individual students, also saw their task as building character and adopted a "save the child" attitude, particularly toward black students. This orientation was expressed in personal involvement with the student, a parent-substitute identity, and such policies as suspension rather than expulsion. However, students who did not respond with a school-committed attitude were met with hard-line discipline and negative evaluations. The differences in teacher perspectives had the effect of further distinguishing the school situation for blacks and whites, providing two different climates of learning. In general, regardless of the social-race of the teachers, blacks at Crossover learned that their customary language, dress, and behavior was inappropriate and devalued.

The students also contributed to group separation at Crossover. For example, black students exerted peer pressure against those who participated in activities or enrolled in course tracks identified as white (see Noblit and Collins, this volume, for a fuller discussion). The blacks who did attend these classes and participated in high status activities generally were very mistrustful of whites who in turn would tolerate inter-racial relationships in these cases only if the blacks conformed to the white norms for behavior and goals.

Although Crossover exhibited a negotiated order, the negotiation was in the context of what was essentially two schools in the organization of space, people, and activities. Ability grouping became standard policy for the district (continuing an arrangement already practiced to some degree at the school) and its expression at Crossover was such that blacks and whites came to have separate and distinct learning experiences. The separation was also seen in organized activities which became sites of struggles for control by the black and white students. Those activities taken over by blacks were repudiated by whites. Thus, most activities, clubs, or offices were identified as belonging to one group or the other, with little mixing. The one harmonious exception was the now-defunct band and ROTC, which exhibited significant tension between the blue collar whites and lower class blacks who participated.

In addition to activities and clubs, social-race members claimed separate territories and informally grouped themselves in the lunchroom and other settings. Avoidance strategies were exhibited. In essence, a rigid boundary maintenance system was observed between the two groups. Despite these rigid groupings, safety did not seem to be a problem, and the level of inter-group fear was low.

The factors discussed above resulted in a resegregated situation in which inter-racial encounters were to a great extent blocked. Those relationships which could occur seemed in general to be power negotiations to decide which group would be excluded from the particular settings or which group would impose its norms on the situation as the dominant interest. As the elite white position was threatened more and more over time, the whites interacted and organized themselves in ways that could be seen as increasingly racist. Similarly, the lower class blacks retained a focus on "street" life and rejected assimilation attempts in the relationships. Only the blue collar whites, who experienced a desegregated learning environment more closely than any other group, developed friendship type relations with blacks.

Under the negotiated order, regardless of the resegregation, Crossover presented the critical element in its external image: the whites remained in the school. But the predominant organizational style changed with the withdrawal of the principal, brought about by a complaint from white students which could not be successfully negotiated within the organization.

The new principal, also black, held the perspective that many of the school's problems were due to problems in the organization of school procedures, including the negotiated, group-responsive reward structures and power distributions in the institutions. He imposed a "tight" organization with authority centralized in his position. A key feature was the establishment of bureaucratic equality in school affairs. Under this order, individuals were to be dealt with by the school according to their personal history and situation. Thus, social-race could no longer be discussed or appealed to as a factor in the negotiation of a student's position. Rule enforcement was less negotiable and more impartial. Although there still seemed to be some consideration of the same variables (social-race, class, and commitment) and indicators (grades, achievement scores, and conduct history), they could not be openly discussed. The resegregated nature of the school structure did not change organizationally, but the situation became significantly different.

Under the new system, social-race groups could not be acknowledged as salient to school operation, except in the most mundane and required ways, because group identity could not be defined and presented as significant in the negotiation of position or power in the school. This change resulted in policies reorganizing the election process to insure impartiality and abandonment of policies that insured balanced settings or symbols, such as the cheerleading policy and honor roll preparation.

As the whites, both elite students and old guard teachers, found their negotiating position as an influential group blocked, their place in the school became more threatened. The response of the white group has been to withdraw from the school, by transfer, retirement, or resort to private education. As this process occurs and white students leave, the school's ability to maintain high level tracks diminishes while rewards and control available to whites are further constricted, leading to more pressure on remaining whites to withdraw.

A Northern high school: ethnic identification

Sheridan High School is located in a large northern metropolis and has an enrollment around 4,000. The school contains grades ten to twelve, with ninth attached; it serves distinct ethnic neighborhoods, receiving students from feeder schools. Four major ethnic groups are represented in the school: Hispanis are now about 50 percent of the students, blacks approximately 20 percent, Orientals 20 percent, and whites 10 percent. In the recent past, the number of blacks and whites have decreased and the number of Hispanics and Orientals have increased. Many of the students attending Sheridan have arrived in the United States relatively recently.

In general, ethnic identity is an important feature at Sheridan, significant in specifying rules of behavior and organization, and used by all parties in the school situation. In addition, different ethnic groups apply different rules for school behavior, based on their ethnic identity. This characteristic can sometimes be problematic, as in the case of students who have previously attended school in Hong Kong or Asia, where students are taught not to talk in the classroom. Such behavior at Sheridan conflicts with the developmental lesson plan which all teachers are urged to apply and which calls for student participation.

Friendship is a valued relationship which affects the informal organization of student life. For example, two students of Hispanic background were reported to alternate cutting the one class they had been unable to schedule together. Apparently, they had been able to structure their time in such a way as to spend all of the day in each other's company. Similar arrangements were common to this and other groups.

Several dependent factors appear to be important in conditioning relationships: ethnicity, neighborhood of residence, status in school organization (which partly determines the course of the student's day and his access to appropriate friendship candidates), special activities and interests, and instrumental transactions (usually stereotypic). Students use ethnic identifications to select friends and to define informal territorial boundaries inside and in the immediate vicinity of the school. Thus, ethnic identity is important for the students' organization of space, people, and activities.

Ethnic identity is also allowed and salient in the representation of cross group relationships, expressed in linguistic codes and terms for ethnic categorization. These terms are presented as criteria for sorting within the school structure. The application of a particular interpretation to a given situation is a matter for negotiation. For example, a high status black student leader complained, while conversing with other student leaders in the presence of a faculty member, about the predominance of Puerto Ricans on the Senior Council, pointing out that there were no blacks, whites or Orientals on that board. Shortly afterward, the faculty member asked her about her participation on the Student Organization Council: "Is it true that you used all the funds to order Afro-American T-shirts?" She replied, "I'm not an Afro-American, I'm just a person."

The principal's goals and policies are the key elements in the formal and semiformal school organization. His concerns fall into three general areas: (1) the establishment of security and control in the school — expressed in constraints on space and time structure, procedures for discipline, and similar processes; (2) the standardization and evaluation of instruction — through such features as the imposition of the standard developmental lesson format on the classes (apparently more or less effectively); and (3) programming and record-keeping — dealing with the large number of classes and students in such a way as keeping track of attendance and to sort the students into the proper academic slots.

Ethnic membership is considered in addressing the concerns of the administration. For example, rules seem to be enforced differently according to ethnicity, with problematic cases sometimes dealt with by considering the individual in terms of stereotypic ethnic identity, which simplifies the bureaucratic procedures. Ethnicity is also considered in the negotiation of place and power in school stratification. The Oriental group in the school has attained high status and a secure position in the school hierarchy by cooperative stances and conformity to the structure in such a way as to minimize the amount of forceful control the school has to exert on them.

Procedures for dealing with attendance problems and records indirectly allow group sorting. Attendance is carefully (but problematically) monitored due to the constraints of funding sources for the school, and teachers link attendance with passing grades, thus improving their record. However, the high rates of absenteeism in the school bring the overlarge classes down to a more manageable size. Since some students can cut and still produce the minimal amount of work required of them, not all class absence is reported, leaving administrative "space" for the students to organize that time on their own, usually by friendship association.

The academic structure at Sheridan is stratified by ability grouping and tracking. The tracks are distinct and, although some special programs do mix ethnic group members, in general the tracks are sorted in ways that clump such groups together, e.g., Hispanics and blacks in the "modified" and business-vocational tracks, whites and Orientals in the highest academic tracks. Assignment of students to these stratified classes is again sometimes managed by the application of stereotypic role assumptions about ethnic identity, as in the interactions of a Puerto Rican student with her academic advisor. Although this student's interest did not seem to fit the skill-oriented track often pursued by Hispanics, her harried advisor seemed to sort her routinely into such classes, without protest from the student. The student expressed her dissatisfaction with her program, as well as her private belief that there was little she could do about the sorting.

In general, the school's class assignments and the ways in which the classes structure the days of the students seem to promote contacts within ethnic groups while restricting encounters among groups. Clubs and activities are also often semi-formally and informally grouped along ethnic lines. The clearest and perhaps most effective pattern of organization affecting cross-ethnic relationships is the informal division of space into "turfs." Group territory is well-defined, and students segregate themselves into ethnic groups for many activities and periods, both within the school, e.g., in the cafeteria, and in the area immediately surrounding the school, where many students spend a great deal of time.

As a result, many of the inter-ethnic relationships at Sheridan are blocked encounters or stereotypic interactions. There are exceptions, and students appear to be able to participate in cooperative ventures in settings where ethnic identity can be muted, particularly in small group or individual encounters. For example, a "learning underground" can be observed to flourish in the school, where students will assist each other with problems or in the performance of work required in classes; ethnic identity seems to be less important for these cooperative encounters. In addition, some special activities such as drug use can lead to inter-ethnic affiliations. Instrumental, goal-oriented, and mutually profitable transactions between groups are not uncommon, even at the level of negotiations in student politics. It is not necessary for academic success or survival to have close or important relationships with members of other ethnic groups, but a student does have to be able to deal with other groups in an effective and cooperative manner.

Summary and Conclusions

The case studies of desegregated schools reviewed in this essay reveal that relationships between blacks and whites tend to be restricted. Close friendships between black and white students tend to be much less frequent than could be expected by chance. There are patterns of cooperative encounters to be found in each school, but there are also patterns of stereotypic and blocked encounters.

The restricted nature of cross-color encounters suggests the continuation of cleavage between the social-races in this country. The anthropologist Fred Gearing and his associates in their "general cultural theory of education" argue that information is distributed in a society in dyadic encounters. In a society without social barriers, knowledge would be randomly distributed throughout the population. Social barriers are manifest in restricted exchange in encounters. Thus, these barriers block the flow of knowledge along the lines of social division (Gearing, *et al.*, n.d.; Gearing, 1976a and b). To the degree that cross-color encounters are restricted, then we can suppose that knowledge is being differentially distributed and that students are limited to learning about one another indirectly rather than openly and directly. Such blockage may have unfortunate implications for the continued separation of social-race groups.

As we have argued in this paper, cross-color contacts cannot be evaluated solely by their observable features. Participants interpret these encounters and attribute meaning to them. The linguistic-symbolic manifestation of relationships in what we have called patterns of representation is an expression of these meanings. Patterns of representation of inter-racial encounters, as has been shown for each of the study schools, are generally not left to the discretion of the individual. School norms affect the frames of representation used in public. These representations affect understanding of the encounters, plans, and anticipations, and are probably carried outside the school.

Dominant patterns of representation in the study schools varied to a greater extent than did patterns of encounters. Each school exhibited its own preferred frame of representation. Personality and social class differences were utilized in one school to describe patterns that could have potentially included reference to social race. At another, individual achievement and academic ability predominated; an emphasis on caring and concern was salient at a third; bureaucratic compliance at a fourth. In only two cases were social-race identities recognized as important social identities in the school. In both these high schools, these identities constituted political identities; that is, competition for resources in the high school (such as funding for clubs) took place at times on the basis of social-race groups.

In three of the schools, social-race identities were either suppressed as relevant categories or acknowledged, yet not attributed any importance in explaining day-to-day encounters or events. While the recognition of social race in school politics and negotiations for resources does not seem to promote patterns of cross-color friendship, the suppression of (social) racial identities does not seem to bring about close relationships either, although a higher frequency of cooperative activities may be possible. In schools where efforts are made to avoid reference to color in public, representations are restricted to nonpublic situations with little input from the school. Furthermore, the applicability of the forbidden frame of racism is often compelling enough that participants secretly, or in nonpublic situations, express their belief that prejudice or discrimination on the basis of color was intended. This happens to whites as well as blacks, although in some of the schools whites felt that their claim of racism would be ignored.

The amount of variation found among schools in representing patterns of inter-racial interaction in the larger society. Pretensions of color-blindness, avoidance of the subject, political maneuvering using social-race groups as constituencies, and reference to white oppression of blacks, especially in the past, are the usual means of describing, analyzing, and explaining these interactions. None of these representations are positive, noncompetitive, and sufficient to overcome suspicions of racism in all cases. Without a standard, suitable frame, school participants must develop their own.

The constraints impinging upon patterns of representation and upon patterns of encounters in desegregated schools are numerous and, as has been evident from reviewing the study schools, variant in their dominance in any one situation. All the factors, including what has been termed "institutional hierarchy," "school image," "cultural knowledge and values," "organization of space, people, and activities," and "school norms and strategies" operate in every case, yet certain components seems to dominate in each. At Sheridan, the prominence of ethnic and racial identity in the community is carried into the school, and supported by the organization of the school into tracks which tend to be associated with one group or the other. The elementary school in the South and the high school in the Midwestern city, however, exhibit (social) race relations which are shaped predominantly by patterns of school organization of space and people. Social norms for both behavior and representation are also very important in the elementary school, as they are in the middle school in the Northeast. School image appears very significant in this latter school, as it did in the high school in the Deep South. (See appendix for reference to a West Coast elementary school.)

The ethnographic case studies reviewed here reveal that the constraints operating upon desegregated schools are complex and interactive. In addition, the different force of factors in each system leads to a certain uniqueness for each school situation. Therefore, each school must receive specific consideration when contemplating intervention for change. To affect the school situation, in an informed and positive manner, requires that intervention strategies take into account the particular constraints operating on the given case. Similarly, programs can be neither piecemeal nor simple; they must consider all constraints in their approach to desired change. Although such principles are difficult to implement, only such care will avoid unexpected or thwarted intervention results.

Appendix

Lawson School

Preliminary material is available from observations in a sixth school. However, the data available for examination are incomplete and unanalyzed as yet; any comments and characterizations of the situation can be only tentative and suggestive, subject to clarification and revision when the full report is presented.

Lawson school is an elementary school serving a working class community located in a West Coast metropolitan area. Lawson had the characteristics of a neighborhood school, and such an image appears to be held by school participants. The composition of the student body of about 500 reflects the ethnic diversity in the neighborhood: 50 percent are white, 30 percent Chicano (Hispanic), and around 20 percent black. The staff is almost completely white. Sample observations are available for the first, third and sixth grades.

While the neighborhood is ethnically mixed, it exhibits little class diversity, being predominantly working and lower middle class (blue collar). One school participant indicated that the minorities in the community were "good" groups, i.e., not poor. Apparently an important element of the image of the community and the school is the vision of a non-prejudiced and "different," harmonious neighborhood. This seems to be reflected in the representations of social relationships seen in the first grade class observed. There, reference to social-race or ethnic identity was muted or nonexistent and subordinate to expressions of "care" among students and teacher. The class motto seems to sum up the attitude: "We Care About Each Other."

Classes are composed on the basis of ethnicity, gender (for balance), and within class on the basis of ability as measured to a great extent by teacher evaluations. The special programs and ability grouping, however, seem to distinguish to a degree between social-race members. This division is partly due to the legal restrictions on administration of IQ tests to minorities. Since participation in most of the programs is selected on the basis of such tests, minority members tend to be excluded. A few positions are reserved for participation on the basis of teacher recommendations and minority students are usually selected for these slots. Despite this practice, minorities seem to be underrepresented in the special programs.

The investigators at Lawson School offer a preliminary suggestion that racial identity is not a salient feature in the school's organization or representations, having little to do with the patterns of relationships. The material available suggests that this pattern is especially true in the lower grades. If this hypothesis is borne out, Lawson would probably be at the opposite end of the pole from Sheridan High School with respect to interactional patterns, with the other study schools in our comparison arranged between them. The study at Lawson should be of significant interest and forthcoming information should provide valuable material concerning the framework presented in this paper.

IV. The Social Context of Alienation: New Policy Research on Lower-Class Black Students in Desegregated Schools

By George W. Noblit and Thomas W. Collins

Introduction

School desegregation has been a disquieting challenge to the unique faith of Americans in their social institutions. Americans are eminently practical, and they express that practicality by creating solutions to whatever problems they perceive. In this context, desegregation is the obvious solution to segregation. Unfortunately, practical solutions to complex social problems like segregation seem hardly realistic in a rapidly changing world. They are an essentially remedial approach that leaves society vulnerable to the turbulence of changing political winds and whims. Public policy emerging as a result of this remedial approach is heavily reliant upon the definition of the problem and its severity and significance, even as these definitions are largely created by political interest groups and the media. Policymakers are left with the charge to create solutions to problems as they are politically defined.[1]

There is at least one other way for society to address social change and its sufficiency for a social and moral order. It is often called prevention, implying that, somehow, change can be managed so as not to produce problems. Many, recognizing this, have argued that public policy, and particularly educational policy, needs to be based more upon the results of social research, hoping that research will objectively delineate a problem so that the facts are indisputable, and the definition more universalistic. Social research has seldom been up to this challenge: "facts" are hardly indisputable in the reductionistic rendering of a highly qualified social science. Further, the role of research has been structured with the problem-solution emphasis. Highly quantitative policy research with such an emphasis may ignore the context of the supposed problem and the meanings attached thereto, and thus may be of little use in understanding either the actual nature of the problem or the tradeoffs of potential solutions. Without an understanding of the context of the supposed problem, preventive, let alone remedial, public policy can hardly be informed by social research.

In the case of school desegregation, a less positivistic and quantitative approach enables an examination of a supposed solution, and points rather dramatically to the limitations of quantitative policy research. The papers in this volume result from this approach and serve the case for a new direction in policy research well.

The new direction in policy research exemplified in this volume is obviously ethnographic. That is, instead of employing survey or experimental methodologies, this type of policy research is concerned with placing events in their fuller context of meaning as it is experienced by setting participants. Spicer (1976:341) writes of policy-oriented ethnographic research:

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[1] Of course, policymakers regularly attempt to redefine "problems." Success at this often is indicative of the relative "weakness" of the other politically derived definitions. The "problem" orientation is the first hurdle in the process of redefining a problem and one that takes massive amounts of data as well as political power. Further, policymakers often use social research to help redefine problems, but use representative sampling and quantitative designs as the hallmarks of appropriate policy research. This type of research seems to promise little gain in understanding such problems and thus to offer little hope for achieving an informed public policy.

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In the study there should be use of the emic approach, that is, the gathering of data on attitudes and value orientations and social relations directly from the people engaged in the making of a given policy and those on whom the policy impinges. It should be holistic, that is, include placement of the policy decision in the context of the competing or cooperating interests, with their value orientations, out of which the policy formulation emerged; this requires relating it to the economic, political, and other contexts identifiable as relevant in the socio-cultural system. It should include historical study, that is, some diachronic acquaintance with the policy and policies giving rise to it. Finally, it should include consideration of conceivable alternatives of how other varieties of this class of policy have been applied with what results, in short, comparative understanding.

In this paper we can look at one result of an educational intervention and place it in its fuller context of meaning, exploring its implications for policy and policy research. The one result of desegregation that we will examine is the alienation of lower-class black students from their desegregated schools. Further, we will examine the social context of this alienation and derive from this discussion a critique of school desegregation policy and the research upon which it was based.

Alienation of the Lower-class Black Student

It is obvious that alienation is a complex attribute we assign to humans, and that any definition of it will allow others to invoke their alternate definitions as a critique. Our definition is a grounded one, inductively derived from observations in the schools studied, and refers to the connectedness of the lower-class black student to the school and its participants. It also considers the degree of powerlessness to negotiate a more "connected" and less alienated lifestyle. Jessor *et al.* (1968:103) come quite close to our definition when they write: "The dimension (alienation) includes isolation in the sense of being rejected, excluded, or repudiated in social relations; in the sense of lacking commonalities with others, that is, the absence of shared values..."

Alienation is, then, being less connected and powerful in social settings as compared with other participants; in the case of school desegregation, the salient participants for this comparison are usually white students who, as they complain about the effects of desegregation, still maintain considerable control over school activities even as a minority in the school.[2]

Since ethnographies are inductive and holistic, the full character of alienation needs no further definition at this time; it will be elaborated as we proceed.

The social context of alienation

Our concern is with alienation of lower-class black students from the school. Many believe that these students suffer because of their families. It is usually argued that poor families equip their children inadequately for successful negotiation of school life. Attempts are not often made to understand the interactive relationship between lower class minority families and the public schools, and to consider the relative powerlessness of these families as a factor in their often-cited lack of responsiveness to school demands. It can be argued that parents in lower-class families are usually without the resources of power. They are not effectively represented by political parties, labor unions, and voluntary associations, and have often experienced the power of public schools to define the lives of children. As a result, they are likely to defer to the public schools and their expertise in the supervision and guidance of their children. As one black, sixth-grade teacher explains:

> These parents dichotomize between their influence and the formal system. They do not see it

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[2] It should be emphasized that lower-class blacks were not always the most alienated student group in the schools, nor were whites the least; it depended upon the ethnicity present in the school. Since desegregation, however, usually is in reference to whites and blacks, the decision was made to concentrate on the lower-class black student.

> as a cooperative effort between the teachers and themselves. A parent will look at me and say, "You're the expert, you know how to do it." Even in such skills as obvious as bowling or exposing the kid to career goals, the parents think the schools should teach the kids.

Even the interactions of families with schooling have dimensions of alienation. Black lower-class parents lack the power to affect many aspects of public schooling. They understand that the school will not be responsive to their desires even while it asks them to be responsive to it. In short, the alienated often do not participate fully in school events, in part because of isolation and in part because their actions net few rewards desirable to them.

Our concern here, however, is with the context of alienation as it exists in schools. Essentially, there are three contexts of alienation that were revealed in the schools studied: the economic context, the political context, and the cultural context. The economic context refers to the perception of the relationship of schooling and later employment. The political context refers to issues of control and power in the desegregated schools. The cultural context provides a portrait of the value system of the lower-class black students as they address schooling.

The economic context

Most educators would agree that schools would probably be more pleasant places if they did not have to function as vehicles for labor market access. Without this requirement, schools could develop tolerance for a diversity of personal styles and learning styles. They would probably be less rigid and more humane. Nevertheless, they are vehicles for labor market access, and the meaning of schooling is largely defined by its potential payoff for careers. Teachers inform students of it and students eventually learn its saliency.

High unemployment in recent years seems to have dampened the spirits of even the most optimistic students. Nevertheless, employment is salient to the lower-class black students. Witness the following account of a seventh-grade class discussion:

> Talking about the bubonic plague in the Middle Ages, Mr. Thompson said that one out of every four people in Europe died. Tim (a black male), totally serious, said: "It was real easy for the people who were left to get jobs."

This is significant for several reasons. First, it points to the importance of employment to people whose families have struggled to get and keep jobs. Second, since the account is by a seventh-grade student, it demonstrates the penetration of labor market entry concerns to even rather young students. In the schools studied, these concerns increased as students progressed through the grades, and became more salient as tracking or ability grouping was imposed in middle and high school. The aspirations of the lower-class black student also changed as they grew older. One black fieldworker commented:

> I questioned sixty different boys from primary and secondary schools attempting to measure their aspiration levels. One of the most pronounced findings was that boys in secondary schools had lower aspirations than those in primary schools. Even when boys from primary and secondary schools were from the same families, there was a definite discrepancy between the aspirations of the two levels. Sixth and seventh graders wanted to be doctors and lawyers, while their brothers in the twelfth grade were satisfied to work at a local manufacturing plant or to hang around on the street corner.

It seems that this shift in aspirations and the students' experience with tracking or ability grouping were correlated. The sorting created a new educational situation. One teacher noted:

> In elementary school you hand carry them through the program. When they get to junior high, they are compartmentalized and just checked off as being absent.

This same teacher argued that with the compartmentalization comes a lack of commitment, even though it was seen as a problem of the students, not the program: "Most of them are on a free ride; won't identify with the program."

As the student progressed to high school, the

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black lower-class students continued to evidence low commitment to schooling even when vocational programs were available to them. While the students were job-oriented ("can't get a job without a diploma"), they developed a rather sophisticated analysis of vocational education programs. One vocational student put it succinctly: "This is just another way to keep us poor!" The lower-class black student also quickly realized that entry into some vocational program was hampered by selection criteria that favored the better student "with the appropriate skills and values." These students often had higher aspirations than the lower-class black students and enrolled in vocational programs to increase their grade point averages so that they might be able to negotiate entry into higher education.

Those black students who had resigned themselves to a more general curriculum, i.e., not college preparatory or vocational, usually expressed some despair over their chances, but also put more effort into developing street repertoires. Should all else fail, these alienated students would try to develop a street career in some form of "hustling."

The economic context of alienation of the lower-class black student from school points rather dramatically to the understood relationship of schooling and employment. These students see schooling as a vehicle to employment, but also as the agent which denies access to a wide range of career options. They do not find themselves in college preparatory classes; they anticipate a bleak life of unstable employment or underemployment. They view vocational programs ambivalently and they "hedge their bets" by maintaining close ties with, and a cultural repertoire for, street hustling. The dynamics of this denial and the minority student's adaptation to it will become more evident as we discuss the political and cultural contexts of alienation for these students.

The political context

Life in schools is highly political in the broadest sense of the term. The organization of curricula, the exercise of teacher authority, the distribution of honors, and the establishment of territory all involve the exercise of power. In schools, the poorer students most often experience power as a force wielded over them, rather than as a resource they can mobilize; they are truly alienated. Let us look more closely at some of the significant features of the political context of the alienated student.

School desegregation has enabled the entry of blacks into formerly white schools. However, the mode of that entry and the schools' response to it have not been closely examined. While there are great variations in these among the schools studied, it is apparent that desegregation has not changed the assumptions of educators about the capabilities of minority students.

A memorandum from the Director for the Division of Secondary Education to all junior and senior high school principals of one system began with the statement:

> It is imperative that we have more uniformity in our academic programs as we enter into our desegregation program in the fall of 1973. Many procedures which have been optional must now become standard policy for all schools.

The memorandum continued to discuss course levels, computation of class rank and the grading legend:

> Assuming there is a need, all schools must offer courses on the following levels.
>
> A. Basic — The treatment of subject matter material at a level below average in the school. Remedial work is provided students in this grouping.
>
> B. Standard — This means average, normal, regularly pursued course of study.
>
> C. Enriched — This course is greater in depth, broader in content, and one which requires originality and creativity on the part of the student. This course is to be limited to outstanding students.
>
> D. Advanced Placement — This course indicates an accelerated course for pupils who have outstanding ability in the subject. This course follows very closely the outline proposed

by Advanced Placement and the College Entrance Examination Board with emphasis on advanced subject matter content which is comparable to a college level course. Examples of this course are calculus and analytics, second year biology, second year chemistry, or English and American history at the highest level. College textbooks are used for these courses. Only students with superior ability in a particular course should be placed in an Advanced Placement course. Students who take the Advanced Placement test, make a high score, and plan to attend a college that participates in the Advanced Placement Program will receive college credit for work done in high school.

Some forms of ability grouping had existed in the above system for years. Significantly, however, the above memo indicated a heightened emphasis that was in direct response to desegregation. Such an emphasis did not exist when the schools were segregated. In fact, grouping was more optional. (See Sagar and Schofield, this volume, for a discussion of the effects of ability grouping on intergroup contact.)

Initially the school administrators tried to follow what they perceived to be HEW guidelines by attempting to match the number of black and white students in each class. However, as many of the black students began to fall behind, the administration arranged "easy classes" so the seniors would be able to graduate at the regularly scheduled time, and by the second semester of the first year of desegregation, the school had established ability groupings in English, biology, and history. Students were coded on a large print-out sheet when being scheduled in one of the four tracks: advanced placement, accelerated, standard, and basic. A lower track called "resource" was added the next year. As one administrator put it, "We were not meeting the needs of these students. The *resource*, we assumed, would provide special education instead of just giving social promotion." The number of classes in each subject area had to be correspondingly limited. For example, only one class of accelerated English could be scheduled for one semester; for the students to get their full complement of courses, the other accelerated courses had to be scheduled at alternative times. Hence, the students were tracked in such a way that a small number would remain together through an entire day. The results were described by one white student in tenth grade: "When I was in junior high, I had lots of black friends, but when I got over here they were just not in any of my classes. I never saw them. We kind of lost touch with each other."

The previous educational inequalities between white and black segregated schools actually reinforced some of these assumptions. One of the high schools dramatically revealed the dynamics of the implementation of desegregation following the pairing of the formerly white and black high schools. The pairing of the two schools provided the black students with their first indication of how far behind they were in academic work. Interviews with several of the black parents indicated that formerly "good students" wanted to withdraw from school shortly after moving into the new program. Many more parents stated that their often opted for courses that would place them out of direct competition with white students. Students choosing their own schedules selected those courses which avoided the rigorous work to be found in traditional academic programs. Many simply stated that they could avoid work and guarantee themselves "an easy 'B' " by taking ROTC, vocal music, shop, and distributive education.

English was required for all students, and this became tracked by levels almost immediately after pairing. Students could take basic English or standard English; many of those who might have taken accelerated English simply reasoned, "Why should I work hard to get a 'C' in accelerated English when I can get an 'A' or 'B' in standard English? I keep up my grade point average." Hence, those black students who were capable of taking accelerated courses would frequently withdraw from these classes and schedule themselves into classes where they knew they would be able to achieve a better grade. Two curricula developed almost immediately after the pairing: one white and one black.

As this example demonstrates, desegregation often resulted in establishment of essentially separate curricula for black and white students. The assumptions about the limited potential of minority students received new support as teachers compared white and black students. The white students had a different set of educational ex-

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periences from the black students; they possessed and used a cultural repertoire that schools respected. The black students suffered from the imposition of standards that more closely matched the experiences of whites, and developed adaptations that the teachers often interpreted as indicating laziness.

Teachers actively attempted to get the lower class black students to "measure up" to academic and behavioral standards. The frustrations of the teachers and the students in this situation were evident in all the schools. Take, for example, the following account of a high school standard English class:

> As the students file in, the teacher comments to this researcher, "This is my worst class. If I can get by this hour, I feel the day is over." The noise level is high; a couple of boys stand in the doorway interacting with peers in the hall; there is laughing and exchanging of gestures. The class has 19 students — three white, 16 black. The students are generally better prepared in this class than was found to be the norm in the social studies classes at this school. For example, they have paper, books, and pencils. The teacher stands at the front of the room, a cold stare on her face, waiting for the class to become quiet. After a monologue about the need to make a greater effort she starts to talk about a forthcoming test. "We will have an exam if there aren't any interruptions from another assembly. Now, let's go back in the books for a review." She is interrupted by several comments and questions spoken out to the class without the raising of hands. She waves her hand in a gesture for the students to be quiet. "You need to know the answers to questions in the back of the chapter." There are now three students with their heads on the desk. She then calls on a boy who is volunteering to read by rapidly waving his hand. The boy begins, but when he comes to a word the teacher stops him and asks another boy to give the meaning. The teacher then gives the etymology of the word. A boy interrupts with the question, "Do we need to know that on a test?" The student who just finished reading talks across the aisle to a friend; there is laughing back and forth. These two students attempt to dominate the class by continuously volunteering answers to the teacher's questions or by asking to read. At this time, 15 minutes into the hour, there are only five out of the 19 students actively listening to what has transpired in class. However, the teacher continues to try to involve other students, asking a girl a question — she responds with total silence. The teacher's growing frustration is indicated by the changing tone of her voice. The teacher asks the only white boy in the class to read. This boy is a poor reader. As he makes mistakes the two disruptive boys continually interrupt and make comments. A girl is asked a question and again one of the two boys yells out the answer before the girl has a chance to respond. This boy argues with the teacher and the rest of the class laughs out and begins to talk among themselves. There are fewer people now with their heads on their desks. The teacher stops the argument by looking away with an expression of disgust. The class responds with silence. The teacher waits a couple of moments and then says, "May I go on?" One of the boys yells back, "Please do." After this incident the teacher drops the subject short. The bell rings; the students do not wait for comment from the teacher. They simply pick up their materials and walk out without any exchange of appreciation or acknowledgement between the teacher and the student. After class the teacher appears upset and tense. "They really don't realize they are being rude." She starts down a list of students in her roll book, giving the reading scores. There are some in this class with fifth grade levels and most are in ninth grade reading levels or lower. She closes the book with the comment, "What can a teacher do with material like that?"

While the teacher's frustration is evident, there is little wonder that lower-class black students resented classes like this English class. They simply had to be endured. It was in class that they learned their lifestyle, their speech, their aspirations, and their interaction patterns were not legitimate, and they used all of these to destroy the teacher's control. It was not uncommon to hear these teachers remark to black students, "Why can't you be more like the white kids?" Not surprisingly, the students, particularly the boys, built their defenses and quietly bided their time. No amount of cajoling could convince them they were wrong. One articulate senior said,

> They (the teachers) don't understand what life is all about. They come here from the suburbs and tell us what to do with our life. We listen and tell them we want to be a lawyer or a brain surgeon or something like that. That's what we learn to tell folks back in the fifth grade just to get them off our backs. The dudes (meaning boys) never dress up for a play like the white kids do. When a guy has to do that he's just going to stay away from class.

The lower-class black student not only is alienated by exclusion from the company of whites and a college preparatory curriculum in which he could effectively compete, but also suffers, as well as manipulates, the rejection of teachers who are concerned with traditionally defined academic standards.

Exclusion and rejection were also observed to be the dynamics of the ethnic relations among the students. The good students, who were usually whites in the school studied, controlled many student activities and honors. The alienated students, even if interested in the honors and activities, had difficulty living up to the required standards. Further, the good students coveted these awards and participation as part of the "vita-building" necessary for admission to prestigious colleges and universities, and were outraged when awards did not accrue to those who would use them for that purpose. The unequal distribution of honors to minority students is evident in Table 1. Minority students were unlikely to be among those whom the school and students felt to be worthy of recognition, even though 42 percent of students were black in this school. Track competition awards and fund raising had more black awardees while the other awards were more likely to be given to whites.

While alienated students are not totally without power in conventional school activities, it was particularly apparent among the schools studied that they had power in at least two realms: disruption and territoriality. Lower-class black students were often regarded as threatening by whites and as a result could establish areas of control, with other ethnic groups risking retribution for violation of their boundaries. Ethnically-controlled territories varied from lunchroom table to stairwells and restrooms. The case studies indicated that such territoriality increased with grade level, but often school policies were contributing factors. Tracking and other student sorting mechanisms often led to resegregated classrooms and, therefore, enhanced ethnic identity and cohesion. The minority students' school experience in many ways became a peer group experience under these conditions.

Territoriality and the potential for disruption, particularly incidents that could be seen as "racial," were of great concern to school participants and evoked a number of responses. (See Scherer and Slawski, this volume, for a fuller discussion of conflict response.) One high school tolerated territoriality, hoping that incidents between black and white students would thereby be minimized because they would interact less. Another tried to control students' use of space by controlling students' free time in school. This school even eliminated lunch because of the fear that ethnic competition in the lunchroom could lead to fighting and other forms of disruption.

It should be noted, however, that the level of disruption was often overestimated by school participants, and inter-racial incidents prompted extensive concern even as their actual meanings were rather mundane. Students adapted rather readily to the situation. One white parent put it this way:

> Listen, the kids like school. My son wouldn't want to leave [the school]. He wouldn't want to go to the other high school. Oh, sure, he knows where to go and where not to go; he won't go into the "john" but they learn very quickly, they catch on to what's safe and what isn't safe....But look, even I walk around all the time and I'm not afraid. You know, if you can get parents into the place, into the schools, they find out it's not nearly as bad as they thought it was. You know, they think it's a jungle in here and it's really not like that at all.

Nevertheless, the alienated student finds his or her primary source of power in territoriality and the potential for disruption. This power is in direct conflict with the school's authority and often-cited mandate to "keep the lid on" in desegregated

Table I

DISTRIBUTION OF AWARDS
SIXTH-GRADE HONORS ASSEMBLY

TYPE OF AWARD	DISTRIBUTION			
	wm	bm	wf	bf*
Perfect Attendance	7	4	5	5
"A" Average	28	2	33	5
"B" Average	29	1	19	6
Outstanding Citizenship	9	3	12	15
Excellence in Academic Work and Citizenship	31	3	33	5
Quiz Team	7	1	2	0
All around excellence in physical education, including at least one sport, and attitude	2	2	0	0
Physical Fitness				
Good	0	0	7	4
Junior Merit	1	2	4	0
Presidential Award	6	7	0	0
Physical Education Citizenship	0	0	2	1
Soccer Team	1	0	0	0
Swim Team Medalists in city-wide competition	8	2	9	2
Track Medalists in city-wide competition	3	8	5	3
Tennis	2	0	0	0
Most money raised in cancer swim marathon		1		

*w — white m — male
b — black f — female

schools. The desegregated schools allowed the minority student few arenas of power, and the ones the students did develop on their own made them even more vulnerable to the authority of the school. Thus minority students often were disproportionately disciplined and suspended — and further alienated from school.

The cultural context

As the previous two sections indicate, the lower-class black student responds and adapts to a rather complex political economy within the school. These adaptations are largely cultural and represent attempts to protect the self and to establish identities and resources in face of the economic and political contingencies we have already discussed. These contingencies are not abstract; they are experienced in everyday interactions between the alienated minority student and other school participants. While we have discussed the contexts of many of these interactions already, there is a more cultural context in which values systems can be compared and the situation of the alienated minority student more fully revealed.

In the case studies, it was evident that the concept of a simple dichotomy between black students and white students is a gross distortion of existing reality. Within each ethnic or racial group there are distinct value systems that give meaning both to school experiences and ethnic identification. A knowledge of both inter-racial and intra-racial cultural differences helps us better understand the alienated minority student. Intriguingly, the case studies revealed that to reach an understanding of the alienated lower-class black students, one must also understand the situation of the committed, successful black student — a person in the middle.

The minority students in the case studies faced many contingencies in attempting to negotiate schooling successfully. Many who did not meet the "standards" found an ethnic identity available to them, but those minority students who did meet the standards were also in a precarious position. First, the standards themselves were a constant threat. Not only must one make the grades, but one must do well on standardized tests. Not only must one compete academically, but one must compete socially for club memberships, honors and teacher recommendations. Second, they had to challenge ethnic boundaries. The white-controlled activities often were the most prestigious, and the striving black student had to emulate whites to be socially acceptable. Nevertheless, they could not escape their ethnicity as far as the whites were concerned; white students often manipulated aspiring blacks for their own ends.

The costs to the successful black student were more than the denial of his or her cultural heritage by "acting white" and developing a distrustful eye for those whom he or she had to emulate. They were subject to derogation by students of their own racial heritage who had not achieved academic success. The black students who were relegated to the basic or standard curricula chided their more successful peers for "acting white," and occasionally attempted to call for ethnic allegiance. These more alienated students had generally developed street repertoires and were regarded as a threat to the proficient black students who had cultivated an image contrary to the stereotypes of blacks held by whites. The proficient blacks argued:

> That bunch in the low-income housing projects don't like whites and just hate them to death. They are always smoking dope in the projects. Almost every girl in the projects has a baby.

The peer pressure was great and often forced the student to choose between acting ("street") black and acting white not only in school, but holistically. The unsuccessful black students would not allow their successful compatriots the luxury of degrading black culture for school purposes. They saw it as an either-or proposition: either all black or all white. Ethnicity was behavioral and cultural in their minds; one's genetic heritage was not sufficient to define ethnic identity. One female black student explained her experience of these pressures:

> They won't give you a chance. This started in the tenth grade. This white girl in my classroom was very talkative, very pretty, and you just couldn't be mean to her. And her name was Mary, and she lived in the nicest block in this white community, and we became very close. If you saw

> one of us, you saw the other. And after that... Well, no one liked me anyway because my momma dressed me real nice. They used to say I thought I was white before I ever talked to a white person. When I started being with her, they were just getting all motivated...and they beat me up every evening anyway and this gave them even more reason. But after that they wouldn't speak to me. I could count my black friends on one hand. That made me feel bad, because I know I'm black, but, you know, you start acting like them and talking like them. I became changed, using kind of white slang and dressing like Mary did. I just thought because my black friends weren't giving me a chance...

Another black student commented, "You know, it's weird, nobody likes me at school, and it's more blacks than whites...."

All in all, the proficient black student was required to publicly renounce his or her ethnic heritage for the chance for success.[3] Those students who had few prospects for the accelerated curriculum, high school status, and college recognized this transition. As one of these alienated students argued:

> Carl — his kind is trying to act white. Do you know Susan? She forgot she is black, she dresses white, she acts white, she even talks white. Darryl is an Oreo, he's busy getting his titles. Blacks working in the office ain't really black, just look at Greg. Paulette turned white for awhile but now she has turned back black. David is just like a white boy.

The proficient black student found it necessary to manipulate credential building in many ways. Almost universally, however, it was required that these students "act white." A commonly expressed opinion by black students was,

> White students have more freedom and you are disciplined less. If you want to get ahead you have to act white. The teachers like you if you act white. If you act white you get better grades.

These students had to reject their culture for the purposes of schooling; the contingencies of success in the schools studied seemingly required it and they adapted. Nevertheless, the adaptation taught many lessons, not the least of which was to distrust whites:

> This is all in just learning how to deal with these devils. Even in petty things...they will use trickery if need be.

The examples of the distrust of whites were many in the accounts of the interviews with these students:

> He said black students loved to participate in club meetings, but the majority of meetings where you really had fun or really got into something were held at white students' houses that were far from the school. These meetings were usually held at night and black students did not have transportation to get to them. He thought this was just another extension of the white people being tricky. He felt that they knew that black students couldn't come out of their houses, so therefore they couldn't have that much input into the clubs the whites wanted to control.

Even tokenism was thought to indicate trickery:

> Cordette Crane was a black student. She was on the student council, she was a majorette and homecoming queen. She had lots of activities. She was the only black asked to participate on the prom committee. She was appointed, it was believed, as a joke. It was argued that these white people knew Cordette would not actively participate on the prom committee because she was out for popularity. She just had too many activities to want to really get into the prom committee.

One of the black members of our research team commented in her account of an interview with one of the highly successful black students:

> Clark is not bitter, does not hate white people. He likes white people, but it stresses him that you

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[3] It is understood that the "ethnic heritage" in question is politically defined within the context of the desegregated school, and often emphasizes "street culture" rather than the larger domain of black culture.

> have to treat these people with a long-handled spoon. He said he would never want to go back to the segregated environment because integration had taught him how to deal with white people, what they expected. He felt they had taught him how to smile and at the same time be able to stick them in the back. He said he was now able to do this — now able to play their games, of smiling on the front and having no good intentions on the back.

These dilemmas for the proficient, committed minority student highlight the cultural context of alienation for the lower-class black student. The alienated minority student was highly ethnic. That is, since the alienated students rarely competed with whites, they did not see the necessity to "take on" the cultural attributes of being white. Because of their failure to achieve school "success," they had little vested interest in the processes of the school; since "acting white" was seen as a necessary part of success in school, these alienated students were free to assume their ethnic heritages (as they presumed them to be). Being ethnic in adolescence is largely grounded in peer interactions, and these students were highly peer-oriented. They had little option; the peer group was the main arena in which they could exercise control.

These students also had to begin to construct identities and status systems, since the conventional identities and statuses found in schools were not available to them. They often celebrated their ethnicity and the importance of their peers. The peer groups were sources of power and protection via territoriality and disruption. The peer societies constructed their own social structures and awarded both status and power. For alienated minority youth the only settings in which they were able to achieve status and power were peer settings. Given their lack of power vis-à-vis conventional institutions like schools, these students also had to rely on their social networks to develop economic survival strategies. For some, this meant "hustling" of various sorts; for others this meant unstable employment.

Alienation, Desegregation and Policy Research: Some Integrating Conclusions

We have explored the social context of alienation for the lower-class black student in desegregated schools by examining the economic, political and cultural meanings that surround his or her experiences. It is evident that desegregation has not alleviated much, if any, of their alienation. The black students still find schooling to be a major contingency of adolescence. For them, desegregation has not provided more economic opportunity. It has not led to control of power and resources in the public school. It has not led to their cultural integration. Desegregation has meant only that more blacks and whites attend the same schools, albeit not necessarily the same classes.

Unfortunately, one could have predicted this outcome. The courts have relied primarily upon remedies that required a numerical mixing, often ignoring issues of quality of instruction, materials, and curricula. This remedy was derived from the results of the EEOS (Equal Educational Opportunity Study [Colemann, 1966]) as these diffused into public knowledge. As we all have been repeatedly informed, those results demonstrated that the academic achievement of blacks was enhanced when they attended school with whites. The courts found this finding easily implementable as policy and numerical mixing became a popular remedy for segregated schooling.

While one must be careful not to argue some linear progression from research findings to court actions, it does appear that judges are likely to argue that evidence from social sciences is appropriately used to inform the remedy decision, not the Constitutionality decision. Therefore, it seems that social research has a certain responsibility to be able to inform courts fully as to the significant features of schooling and achievement. Research like EEOS has not fully satisfied that responsibility; as a result, new approaches to policy research may well be warranted and productive. The real issue is not that EEOS was methodologically or conceptually weak, but that with a quantitative survey design, it simply could not isolate the interpretative understandings that could have informed educators and courts as to the relative sufficiency of various remedies. Highly quantitative, positivistic research derives interpretations, not from the settings studied, but from social theory. As a result, positivistic research is adequate as policy research only to the extent that theory is an accurate portrayal of the events under study. This is problematic since positivistic research is procedurally bound to be a test of theory. That is, for positivistic research to be adequate as policy research, it must be assumed that whatever theory it is testing is already relatively accurate, a seemingly hopeless logical mire. Setting this problem aside, it can be argued that positivistic research is not likely to be an appropriate policy research methodology precisely because it serves the interests of theory. The hypotheses and the questions to be studied are deduced from theory. The results inform theory. In the end, for positivistic research to be adequate as policy research it must be based on theoretical policy models that need to be tested. The researcher is allowed to learn little from the setting itself about the appropriate interpretations of events; these are to derive from theory and ideally are specified prior to the initiation of the study.

Many of these problems are avoided when conducting ethnographic research. It is not bound to theory; it is bound to the setting. Its duty is to present an accurate portrayal of the forces in play, their interactions, and their meanings to the people who experience them. As policy ressearch, it enables more sophisticated understandings of the controversies and characteristics which remedies must address in order to achieve success. It places remedies in the fuller context of meanings that make up the experiences we call schooling. Given that policy is not totally based upon research, these types of findings may well be more informative to the policy debate than statistical results would be. Even researchers are becoming aware of the limits of positivistic research. For example, St. John (1975:122-3), after reviewing the existing research on the outcomes of school desegregation for children, concluded:

> ...far more illuminating would be small-scale studies involving anthropological observations of the process of interracial schooling, across settings diverse in black-white rations and in middle-class-lower-class ratios, and also diverse in their educational philosophies and techniques.

Both approaches to policy research are needed, but they should be used more in concert. If this had been the case, the existing school desegregation remedies might have been able to anticipate and avoid the alienative consequences of desegregation for lower-class minority students. A combination of approaches might have suggested that desegregation, to be effective, must challenge the role of schools in stratifying our society. Minority students would have benefited more from desegregation if, instead of concentrating on numerical mixing, the courts had looked more closely at the economic, political and cultural contexts of schooling and racism, and mandated less stratification, more political equality, and as a result, more acceptable cultural alternatives — all within schools, since they, and not school districts, are the avenues to equal educational opportunity.

V. Integrating the Desegregated School: Perspectives, Practices and Possibilities

By H. Andrew Sagar and Janet Ward Schofield

Introduction

A familiar boast which might be adopted by the rare community or school board that is committed to implementing integrated education: "The difficult we do at once; the imposible takes a little longer." "The difficult," in this case, refers to *desegregation*, the physical mixing of formerly isolated ethnic groups by assigning them to the same schools. Seemingly simple, this procedure has often been complicated enormously by political controversy and grass-roots resistance, as well as by such logistical problems as transporting and meshing those who were formerly segregated. Yet the difficulties have rarely proved insurmountable, once the commitment to desegregation has been made.

Integration, as well shall use it, is "the impossible." It is a more ambitious term, pointing beyond mere physical desegregation to the formation of a viable social system that incorporates and accommodates each of the formerly isolated groups (Pettigrew, 1967). Social integration presupposes, but does not automatically follow, physical desegregation. The stubborn race and class barriers apparent in the schools studied might lead a pessimist to conclude that genuine integration in our society is virtually impossible.

The importance of striving toward the elusive goal of social integration is highlighted by the tendency of the studies considered here to confirm the theoretically-based prediction that desegregation alone offers little hope of providing the educational equity endorsed by *Brown v. Board of Education*, and even less of dispelling the misunderstandings, biases, and fears which continue to divide the American people. In the following discussion of problems encountered in desegregated schools, we dwell on these problems not only to present readers with an analysis of what often occurs in such schools, but also to suggest alternative approaches which may enable American schools to make good on the boast that integration will simply "take a little longer."

Prelude to Integration: Establishing the Mix

Those who remember the long years of inertia, litigation, and defiance following the Supreme Court's invalidation of state-imposed school segregation may be taken aback by our assertion that the admittedly difficult task of desegregation can be accomplished "at once." The Warren Court, which rendered the *Brown* decision, anticipated some difficulties and was at first inclined to be patient, instructing the district courts to take into account the practical problems of implementation. Local school authorities were required only to make "a prompt and reasonable start," and to proceed with "all deliberate speed."

Over 15 litigious and painful years, the Court's initially passive stance gradually hardened in the face of increasingly obvious southern intransigence (Read, 1975). Decisions in 1969 and 1970, reversing delays and ordering *immediate* desegregation, marked the great breakthrough. After years of stalling, legal maneuvering, and defiance, massive desegregation was finally implemented in countless southern communities, often with breathtaking speed. One school district after another accomplished an admittedly difficult task almost immediately.

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One can by no stretch of the imagination see desegregation of America's schools as anywhere near accomplished. Yet, desegregated schooling is now a reality for literally millions of students, whereas a quarter of a century ago it was virtually unknown. Although progress in desegregation has been notably faster in the south than in most other parts of the country, recent years have seen much increased pressure in other regions, and actual implementation of desegregation plans in a number of major cities outside the south.

The precise criteria used by various concerned parties to determine if a school can be labelled desegregated are surprisingly unclear. Obviously, a basic criterion is the percentage of students from various racial and-or ethnic backgrounds in the school. For example, the Supreme Court, in *Green v. County School Board*, 1968, ruled that a "freedom of choice" program in which a few black students transferred to previously all-white schools was not effective desegregation since it brught only 15 percent of the district's black children into the white schools. With no further instructions from the high court concerning the nature of an effective plan, the lower courts began to concentrate more and more upon the *percentage* of race mixing as a criterion of desegregation (Read, 1975).

Just what racial or ethnic mix is necessary for a school to be considered desegregated varies considerably from situation to situation, and from observer to observer. For example, schools studied by Rist (1978) and Useem (1976) as examples of token desegregation were over 90 percent white. A school which was not 80 percent black was classified by Singer (1966) as segregated, whereas Porter (1971) treats a classroom that was 70 percent black as desegregated.

In the eyes of many apprehensive whites, a given proportion of black students looms larger than an identical proportion of white students. For example, a school which is two-thirds white may be perceived as desegregated whereas a school which is two-thirds black is seen as essentially segregated. Pawnee West High School was regarded by many Pawnee residents as "the black high school" even though white students actually constituted a slight majority. One school studied sought to recruit, through open enrollment, a student body which was 58 percent white and 42 percent black. When the school opened with a student body which was 47 percent white, a local reporter wrote that it had failed in its efforts to recruit an integrated student body. Reflecting this same feeling, a white sixth grader reported to his mother after the first day of school that the school was "wall-to-wall blacks."

White sensitivity to the proportion of blacks appears to stem from two main factors. First, most whites are used to being members of the majority group. Many have virtually no direct contact with blacks and very little indirect contact. Second, although they have no prior personal experience with blacks they frequently hold negative stereotypes about them. Both of these factors would appear to lead whites to be especially sensitive to the presence of blacks. Both the emphasis on remaining a large majority, and the assumption that blacks will cause problems, are apparent in the following conversation among some white staff members on the first day of a token desegregated program, in the school studed by Rist (1978:83):

> When Mrs. Brown said Donald (a new black student) would be no problem, one of the secretaries...said, "I don't think with this small number...that there should be any problems. Now if there were seventy-five or a hundred, it would be different. But I don't think twenty-eight will make any difference at all. We probably won't even know they are here." This comment was greeted with nods of agreement from the other teachers.

Another basic factor influencing the mix of students considered necessary to achieve desegregation, is the racial mix of the community surrounding the school or schools in question. For example, Warshauer and Dentler (1967) have recommended that researchers consider a school to be desegregated only if the percentage of the students of each group in the student body is between 50 and 200 percent of that group's representation in the entire community. There is, however, much difference of opinion over how to define the surrounding community (see Sullivan, this volume, for a discussion of the definition of community). The courts have frequently defined "surrounding community" as the entire school district, which generally encompasses many neighborhoods of varying racial character. The Supreme Court has declared that district-wide population ratios are "useful starting points" for planning student assignments in a desegregated system (Read, 1975). Subsequently, lower courts have repeatedly focused upon uniform ratio criteria as the hallmark of a desegregated system.

Obviously, desegregation achieved through instituting a uniform racial mix in all the schools in a school system has very different consequences for the social composition of different schools, depending upon the ethnic character of the school district in which they are located. Two of the previously all-white schools studied became predominantly black by court decree, reflecting the black majorities in each of the district-wide school populations. In contrast, the black minority at Pawnee West was actually *reduced* slightly, again in the interests of district-wide racial balance. Yet another school was under pressure to further reduce the size of its white minority to reflect the heavy preponderance of blacks in the city school district population.

The community composition guideline is not as clear-cut as it first appears. The way in which one defines the surrounding community can dramatically affect the population make-up. The court's position has met opposition from those who believe that the relevant community is the neighborhood, a much narrower definition of community than the school district, since, for many people, the psychological (or even practical) boundaries between neighborhoods are likely to be drawn where shifts in racial, ethnic, or social class composition of those areas occur. Neighborhood schools, which have come to carry such emotional appeal, tend to be segregated almost by definition.

While seeming too broad to the advocates of neighborhood schools, the court's emphasis on desegregation within district lines is seen as too restricted by others, since it provides no basis for significant desegregation of many predominantly black inner-city districts or heavily white suburban districts. For this reason, advocates of interracial schooling have tried on several occasions to persuade the courts to broaden their definition of the relevant community. In 1974, district court Judge Stephan J. Roth ordered metropolitan-wide desegregation of the black inner-city schools and white suburban schools in the Detroit area, declaring that "district lines are simply matters of political convenience and may not be used to deny constitutional rights" (quoted in Read, 1975:44). However, he was overruled by the Supreme Court, which emphasized that district lines could be set aside only where the evidence indicated that a constitutional violation within one district had produced significant segregation in another district.

The Detroit decision did not rule out the possibility of inter-district desegregation elsewhere (metropolitan-wide desegregation affecting over half of Delaware's public schools has recently been ordered and implemented in the Wilmington area), but it place a heavy burden of proof upon potential plaintiffs. It reaffirmed the distinction between *de jure-de facto* segregation; the fact that "*de facto*" school segregation rests upon residential patterns shaped in large part by legal and illegal discriminatory practices points up the ambiguity of the distinction (Read, 1975).

One study site provides an interesting illustration of the frequently complicated, non-neutral nature of district lines. In accordance with state law, Bradford has expanded during the last 25 years through annexation of several neighboring suburban communities. Each of these communities has been permitted to vote on whether or not to join the city school district. All of the incorporated black communities, and some of the white areas, joined the city system but several other white neighborhoods voted to remain in the county schools. About 4000 children, mostly white, live in the city but are not counted in the city's school population, now predominantly black. This had resulted in the anomalous situation of the Grandin school, which is part of the city system, being required to reduce the size of its white student population, already a minority, even though whites still constitute a majority of the total city population. Significantly, the federal district court denied a petition to incorporate the "city-out" areas into the Bradford system or to merge the city and county schools. The court ruled that the racial imbalance between the city and county schools had not resulted from intentional discrimination.

Resegregation

"All the segregation in the city
was put in one building."
—Crossover High School
Student

Knowing the initial racial composition of the student body in a school or school district may district still may not give an accurate indication of the amount of intergroup contact actually occurring. Although considerable public attention has been given to the issue of desegregation, much less has been given to the phenomenon which frequently appears to follow it: resegregation within the desegregated school or school district. The one type of resegregation which has received public notice is that stemming from "white flight," — the withdrawal of whites from a desegregated system so that the racial composition of the students remaining in it leaves it essentially segregated.

The fact that many whites are leaving urban centers with large black populations in their desegregated schools is indisputable (Desegregation Studies Unit, 1977). Whether this migration from the cities is a direct response to school desegregation has been hotly debated elsewhere (Coleman, Kelly, and Moore, 1975; Pettigrew and Green, 1976a, 1976b; Rossell, 1975-76). The case studies on which this essay is based generally did not address the impact of desegregation on residential patterns and hence contribute little to this aspect of the "white flight" debate. There is, however, another type of white flight that was noted in a number of the case studies — a withdrawal of whites from the public to the private school system following desegregation of the public schools. In one city, private school enrollments shot up by approximately 20,000 with the advent of massive court-ordered desegregation. Nearly all of the 20,000 students who transferred to private schools were white.

In only one case a reverse of the white flight process was actually observed. Wexler Middle School was presented to the community as an idealistic experiment in open enrollment and racially balanced high quality education — though it was planned and opened against a backdrop of mounting legal pressure to desegregate the city-wide system. The school managed to recruit a nearly 50 percent white enrollment, but it did so by accepting *all* white applicants, while turning away hundreds of blacks seeking admission. Although it attracted fewer whites than hoped, the school did manage to pull a small number of white children who had previously been in private schools back into the public school system. The attraction was, however, short-lived. After the school's first year, the Board of Education decided to change the open enrollment plan to a feeder pattern under which approximately two-thirds of the new students were black. The principal then began to have some problems with white flight into private schools:

> There are a lot of concerns and rumors going around Elizabethville and Hardy (two white areas of the city) that come from the...change from open enrollment to the feeder pattern. People are really afraid the school will become all black. Whereas last year we had kids leaving private schools to come here, this year we have kids leaving here to go to private schools.

Although resegregation of school systems through "white flight" has caught the public eye, there are a number of other processes which lead back to segregation within particular schools. These deserve further explanation for several reasons. First, within-school resegregation is a phenomenon which is often ignored. For example, Cohen (1975) reports in her review of the literature on desegregation and intergroup relations that only one-fifth of the studies done between 1968 and 1974 reported on whether there was actual interracial contact in the schools studied. Second, the case studies on which this essay is based focused on single schools, providing fertile sources for discovering and exploring the forms that in-school resegregation takes. Third, resegregation within a school poses a very serious obstacle to the attainment of integration as we have described it. The example of the principal who managed to increase white enrollment in his predominantly black school by taking in four classes of multiple-handicapped children superbly illustrates the hollowness of the numbers game.

Resegregation within schools appears to stem from a variety of formal practices and informal processes. Foremost among the formal practices which fostered resegregation in most of the schools studied were academic tracking and ability grouping. There were, however, a variety of informal practices and social processes which also contributed in major ways to at least some degree of resegregation within most of the schools. A brief discussion of resegregation of several of the schools shows the difference in the degree to which it occurred and the wide variety of factors involved.

If any school studied was ripe for racial conflict, it was Crossover High School, located in a city plagued by intense racial animosity and violence in the years prior to desegregation. But the investigators observed virtually no overt racial conflict among students during the two years they were in the school. They found instead a very high degree of racial resegregation, on all levels — curriculum, extracurricular activities, informal associations and friendship patterns.

The rapid development of separated black and white curricula at the desegregated Crossover school appears to have been determined jointly by the actions of the state, the school, and the students themselves. The Division of Secondary Education in 1973 directed that the formerly optional tracking of junior and senior high school students would now be standard policy. (See Noblit and Collins, this volume.) At the school itself, students were grouped on criteria which clearly tended to divide them racially — perhaps most noticeably in the English classes where, as in most American high schools, Black English was treated as nothing more than an uneducated attempt at Standard English. The academic resegregation was reinforced by the students' own course selections. Certain courses were, with apparent justification, branded as academically inadequate and avoided by white students. On the other hand, qualified black students, apparently out of concern over grades and job chances, tended to avoid courses which would put them in direct competition with high-achieving whites. Those who did choose an accelerated course could not count on support from their peers, who were likely to point out as one student did, "There ain't nothing but white faces in there." So effective were the joint forces toward academic resegregation that one black student observed, "It's possible to go all through the years at Crossover and not have a single white person in your class."

Most of the extra-curricular activities at Crossover were clearly identified as belonging to either the white or the black students. Elite white groups continued to dominate student government and many traditional activities such as the prom and the yearbook staff. White boys continued to predominate in baseball, cross-country, tennis, and golf; the football and basketball teams quickly became "black sports." Chorus became a black activity as well. Not surprisingly, the patterns of informal association and friendship among Crossover students mirrored the racial cleavage observed in the school's organizational structure.

At Sheridan, a multi-ethnic high school, the majority of classes were mixed to some extent, and several had significant representation from all four of the school's major ethnic groups; administrators and staff insisted that they did not consciously track students. Even so, the investigators concluded that the over-all consequence of the ways in which students were guided into sequences of courses resulted in sorting them by social class and ethnicity.

Wexler Middle School presented an unusual variant on the usual tracking-resegregation situation. Administrators in this new school, from the beginning, strongly discouraged the use of ability groupings, encouraging teachers to try more creative means of dealing with the academic diversity in their classrooms. Wexler's extra-curricular activities were largely unsegregated. However, to attract wary whites to the interracial setting, the school incorporated an area-wide accelerated program into its eighth grade curriculum. Students who spent their first two years at Wexler learning to work in an interracial setting could look forward in their third year either to the accelerated program, which was 80 percent white, or the regular (some teachers say "slow") program, which was 80 percent black.

Prospects for social integration (not to mention the prospects for developing a neat operational definition of "desegregated schools") are clouded by the pervasiveness of informal segregation as well as by the segregation caused by formal procedures such as tracking. Despite variations in the extent to which the schools structurally resegregated their students, the students, when given the chance, consistently resegregated themselves:

> Black students...congregate on the northwest corner of the [high] school and inside the doorways down the street westward...Most of the students on the west side of the school are Hispanic. Non-Hispanic students tend to gather on the side of the street next to the school just outside the main doors, but the other side of the street here is all Hispanic. The south side of the school is where the few white and Chinese students who hang out before and during school predominate.

Assignment of black and white children to the same classrooms or activities does not necessarily preclude this kind of informal resegregation:

> With few exceptions students, when free to do so, sit with others of the same social-race group. This pattern is apparent in classes or during special activities where students can choose their own seats, during free time when students congregate to play games, and at breakfast and lunch tables.

Findings of informal resegregation tendencies have been nearly universal in desegregated schools in America (e.g. Cusick and Ayling, 1973; Schofield and Sagar, 1977; Shaw, 1973). Resegregation initiated by the students themselves is obviously a very different matter from segregation imposed by the state and resegregation "structured in" by school policies. No court will order an end to it. Teachers almost universally maintain a "hands off" attitude. Yet, student-initiated resegregation isolates student ethnic groups just as surely as do the imposed forms and must therefore be taken into account in any predictions or evaluations which presuppose ethnic mixing.

The Business-As-Usual Response to Desegregation

One frequent response to desegregation observed in the schools studied was a determined attempt to avoid making any particular responses other than to carry on with the school's customary business. (See Scherer and Slawski, this volume, on coping strategies.) Insofar as possible, the interracial school maintains the same basic curriculum, the same academic standards, and the same teaching methods that prevailed under segregation (allowing for possible modifications to keep pace with advances in the state of the art). The same behavioral standards will be enforced, the same values will be espoused, and the same sanctions will be applied to student offenses. In short, the school does not perceive itself as having to adjust its traditional practices in order to deal with the new student body. Rather, the students are expected to adjust to the school.

Strictly speaking, such total homeostasis cannot be maintained, especially when the desegregation crosses social class as well as ethnic lines. Certain minor adjustments are necessary if normal functions are to be carried out. For example, teachers often have to contend with a wider range of academic preparedness or even an increased number of "problem students" who fail to respond as desired. However, the important point is that those espousing the business-as-usual approach generally conceptualize the challenges posed by an interracial student body as problems to be resolved in ways which involve the least possible deviation from established procedures.

What precisely is "the business" which the school hopes to accomplish in traditional fashion? First there is the obvious mission, that of teaching students the material in the school's academic curriculum. A second widely shared objective is that of guiding students' character development, often referred to as the "hidden curriculum." We shall discuss these two pursuits in turn.

Academic business-as-usual

Teachers often emphasize that their primary commitment is to academic excellence. This emphasis supposedly gives them a narrowly focused task, leaving such concerns as integration and social relationships outside their jurisdiction.

> Being a teacher, I guess academics is more important (than personal or social development)...I think we were told once that we shouldn't be concerned that much in sixth

> grade with the academics of the children who aren't too socialized yet...It was presented to us that socialization, them getting along with each other, black, white or from other areas, is the important skill development right now and the academic is secondary...I think teachers say, 'Yea, yea, right, sure,' and then they go and teach, try to teach.

The school's academic mission can be viewed as one of (a) producing students who compare very favorably to students in other schools, or (b) enabling individual children to progress as fast as they can. In a school in which many students start out far behind those in other schools, accomplishment of the second goal does not necessarily result in accomplishment of the first. Many teachers in the schools studied were distressed or resentful because they tended to take the first view of the school's mission and they felt that desegregation had lowered the overall achievement level in their classes. Even though there were no signs that desegregation had impaired the performance of the more advantaged students, the mere presence of other students who did not perform "up to standard" in class or on nationally-normed tests seemed to reflect negatively on their teachers and the school. Business-as-usual approaches which ruled out revised goals and teaching methods assured that desegregation would pose virtually insoluble academic "problems" for these schools.

Character development

Although teachers often stressed the priority of academic goals, observers noted a strong emphasis on guiding students' personal development in such areas as manners, industry, and citizenship. Although this traditional concern has been termed the hidden curriculum, the label sometimes seems inappropriate given the very direct emphasis which such matters often receive.

Teachers' overt concern with character development was also apparent from their classroom behavior, as in the following example:

> Mr. James then says, "I don't know what's happening in this school but I don't like it. I see too many rules being ignored by teachers and administrators. Today I saw a boy who was suspended for 3 days — and he came for three days and nobody questioned about it. There is a rule that no food is to be brought into the learning area; and that includes soft drinks, Sonya!"...(There is a cup on the table in front of her). Lillian says, "She brings it every day." He goes on, "I see kids wearing their coats in class — we don't have anybody doing that in here." Shirley points out that Mark is wearing one. Correcting himself, Mr. James says, "Mark is." Shirley is laughing. Mr. James asks him if he needs to wear it; Mark says no. Mr. James says, "It's bad on you, Mark, because we are teaching you to ignore rules. I'm going to talk to Mr. Reuben. If we're not going to enforce that rule, we should get rid of it."

The hidden curriculum may even take precedence where strictly academic criteria are judged inadequate measures of what the students have learned about "Life." A staff member remarked:

> You know, I don't know if I've told you this before, but I think a kid shouldn't pass unless he's there at least 50 percent of the time...This idea of passing them if he passes a test even if he doesn't come to class I think teaches them bad habits. They should know that they don't get anything for nothing.

In one high school, for example, five unexcused absences from a class is grounds for academic failure. Many of the frequently-absent students do nevertheless manage to perform fairly well on their academic tests, thus presenting their teachers with the difficult decision of how strictly to enforce the behavioral rule.

It seems fairly clear that teachers who verbally stressed the priority of academic goals did not, in most cases, reject the traditional hidden curriculum. Rather, they were reluctant to embrace new or altered non-academic tasks in response to the heterogeneous character of the student body. In some cases they frankly stated that they did not know how to deal with potentially volatile concerns such as the students' interracial relationships:

> I feel no more competency in group process than I do in aerodynamics and engineering. You wouldn't expect me to build an airplane without giving me some training in it. And I really feel that I would confuse group process more than I could enhance it, quite frankly.

Despite this appeal to lack of training in intergroup relations, we saw little evidence that teachers actively desired such training. Instead, they frequently denied responsibility for the novel non-academic role which such training would imply. In non-academic as in academic matters, "business as usual" is a commonly, and sometimes passionately, sought goal.

Conflict avoidance

In a school which is seeking to proceeed with business as usual there can be no room for serious racial conflict. Schools traditionally have been concerned with student discipline because its lack is seen as undermining both academic and character-building goals. However, the presence of traditionally separate and often hostile groups makes the issue of discipline, and of conflict avoidance in particular, especially salient. (See Scherer and Slawski, this volume.)

An emphasis on business as usual can be viewed as one possible approach to minimizing the likelihood of racial conflict, precisely by making it clear that the administration and staff do not consider race an issue in the school. The intended message is that desegregation has not changed anything. The school's goals remain the same, the same rules apply, everyone is assumed to be at the school to learn, and those who are not will be dealt with in the customary fashion, no matter who they are. Consider the following announcement, which came over the P.A. system on the first morning of the first day of school:

> There are many different people in this school: black, white, Oriental, Spanish-speaking, and some with handicaps. There is no rhyme or reason why any of you should bother others because they are different. If you can't act right, there are lots of other kids who want to come to this school....Enough said?

Where real conflict seems imminent, stronger steps may be required:

> Two kids were fighting out in the hall during lunch time and the white kid ended up calling the black kid a nigger several times at the top of his lungs. He and I are the only two whites in the hall with about fifty black kids...I grabbed him by the throat. I had to do something very strong. I brought him in the office and talked to him. He was pretty ashamed calling the kid a name....He knew he was wrong for bringing names in.

There are many excellent reasons for not letting a racial incident get out of hand. A particularly compelling one, from an administrative point of view, is that open conflict could seriously disrupt the school's ability to carry out its normal functions.

Serious racial conflict did not occur in any of the schools during the two years in which they were studied. Nevertheless, the memory or anticipation of conflict did prompt significant adjustments in discipline and control. Ironically, these and other departures from business as usual seemed intended to maximize the extent to which the schools could continue to function as they had in the past. Schools very rarely questioned whether old rules or procedures were desirable in light of the changing nature of the student body.

Integration as Assimilation

Our discussion may seem to imply that the business-as-usual approach to desegregation is a simple product of bureaucratic inertia or institutional rigidity. But the approach is compatible with a widely-held assimilationist view of racial integration. The assimilationist ideology holds that integration will have been achieved when the minority group can no longer be differentiated from the majority in terms of economic status, education, or access to social institutions and their benefits. This will be accomplished by fostering a "color-blind" attitude where prejudice once reigned, and by imparting to minority persons the skills and value orientations which will enable them to take their place in the currently white-dominated social structure. No significant change is anticipated in the social structure itself since the newly assimilated individuals will be attitudinally and behaviorally indistinguishable from the majority. *Stated in its baldest form, the assimilationist charge to the schools is to make minority children like white children.* (Milton M. Gordon, 1964, terms this ideology "Anglo-Conformity.")

Class assimilation

Rist (1974, 1978) distinguishes between racial assimilation and class assimilation models of school desegregation. According to his conceptual analysis, the racial assimilation model "views integration as the means by which to socialize non-white students to act, speak, and believe as much as possible like white students." Class assimilation, in contrast, assumes a "color-blind" stance. The purpose of integration is to impart midle-class values to lower-class students so that they can break out of the "cycle of poverty" and become middle-class persons themselves. Even if the bulk of these lower-class students happen to be non-white, ethnicity supposedly remains incidental to the class assimilation process. (See Noblit and Collins, this volume, for a discussion of lower-class black student response.) The class assimilation orientation is very much in tune with the widely-held American democratic philosophy: People are to be judged as individuals and not as members of ethnic or racial groups; they should be rewarded or punished on the basis of their behavior rather than their social category; the American economic and social system should be open to all those willing to work hard and strive for advancement.

One thing this democratic philosophy does not do is to grant any positive status to lower-class values. Regardless of whether these values reflect pathological reactions to a deprived childhood or creative adaptations to a lower-class environment, the values are themselves seen as the problem, standing in the way of the child's success at school and in the larger society. The only acceptable response to such children is to "adjustively counsel them into the right types of behavior." One vocational teacher took some pride in his efforts to steer his students into what he considered to be "the right types of behavior."

The following memo to teachers offers an exceptionally direct official statement of one school's assimilationist ideology, especially interesting when compared to the school's publicity proclaiming it "one of the most uniquely integrated schools in one of the most culturally pluralistic communities in the country":

> Sheridan, like every other high school in New York, has a rule against wearing hats. Although we are cognizant of changing social mores, our rule is designed to direct pupils into acceptable behavior patterns. One of the aims of education is the transmission of *our* cultural heritage, and it has always been a sign of respect of the individual for his school or his institution to remove his hat. We would be remiss in preparing pupils for participation in life beyond the school if we did not counsel them into positive behavior patterns. (Emphasis added.)

What the memo did not say was that removing one's hat has always been "a sign of respect" specifically in white, middle-class society. Black male students in other schools have maintained that hats worn indoors are acceptable in their culture and that rules against such behavior are discriminatory (Forehand and Ragosta, 1976).

Although the emphasis on class assimilation far outweighed attempts at racial assimilation in the schools studied, the distinction between the two approaches to assimilation is not always clear. The middle- and upper-class social strata in our country have been so dominated by whites that a wide array of distinctively black styles and behaviors can be viewed as incompatible with social class mobility simply because they depart from prevailing norms or are unacceptable to prospective employers. What teachers viewed as class assimilation was often seen by students as racial assimilation. Black students who managed to survive in accelerated classes were seen by teachers as exhibiting "black middle-class values, black middle-class traits,...the ones our teachers like." Yet these assimilated students were frequently sanctioned by their unassimilated peers for "acting white."

The continuing teacher efforts to modify black students' English usage provide an excellent example of the assimilationist goals of the schools, and of the uncertainty in practice of the distinction between class assimilation and racial assimilation. Much has been written recently about the integrity of "Black English" which, though different from "Standard English," appears to have a coherent structure of its own (Dillard, 1972, 1975; Cazden, John, Hymes, 1972, Part 2). The behavior and statements of both black and white teachers, however, reflected a commitment to a single standard of correct usage.

For teachers the issue was simply an academic one. Black English was considered, not just different, but wrong: teachers, as educators, had an obligation to try to extinguish it:

> Two or three students are yelling out with the hands waving wildly for the teacher to help them. One boy has his grammar corrected by the teacher. He stated, "He do?" and she would not answer his question until he repeated the statement correctly. His response was, "He do it?" The teacher turned around with a smirk; the student continued to sit there without receiving an answer to his question.

Many black students have a very different view of Standard and Black English than do their teachers. What is regarded by teachers as an academic mission is often viewed by students as an assault on their social identity (Leacock, ed., 1971). This conflict of purpose was a source of frustration for teachers and students alike. One despairing teacher told a researcher:

> I drill these kids on the right verb tense each day and then they go right out in the hall after my class and go back to their old speech patterns. One kid told me right out that if he used what I was telling them in class, kids would think he was a fag. I'm just not getting anywhere with these kids.

Staples (1976:74) has commented upon the importance of language in black life:

> The oral tradition among Afro-Americans means that verbal facility is of high prestige. An Afro-American who displays a mastery of Black parlance is much admired. This accounts, in part, for the high status accorded pimps and preachers...Another verbal skill is rapping, which Kochman (1972) defines as "a fluent and lively way of talking generally characterized by a high degree of personal style through which the speaker intends to draw the audience's attention to himself or some features of himself that he feels is attractive or prestigious with his audience."

Ironically, the state memo which defined the emphases of the various curricular levels used at Crossover High mentioned "originality and creativity" only in connection with the "enriched" English classes, which were to be "limited to outstanding students." Few black students found their way into these classes; they were disproportionately tracked into "basic" (remedial) English classes in which creativity played no discernible role. The purpose of these classes was to drill students in standard usage, through endless rote repetition if need be, until they absorbed it. There is no indication that the striking lack of progress under this procedure ever led school officials to question the desirability of continuing this teaching strategy.

Many of the lower-class black students at Crossover genuinely wanted the high school diploma and the advantage they believed it would offer the job market. They drew the assigned maps in geography and engaged in teacher-led discussions on the vocational classes. But they drew the line at abandoning the dialect which, for them, was so closely bound up with their peer solidarity and ethnic identity. They refused to be assimilated.

Dealing with the Unassimilated: The Sorting Function

The assimilationist goal, whether emphasizing racial or class assimilation, assumes that minority students, given exposure to white middle-class institutions, will become virtually indistinguishable from majority students. However, the expectation that the minority students will make such an adjustment is challenged by two important social realities. First, separate and unequal pasts virtually insure that minority and majority students will enter the assimilating institutions with different skill levels and personal experiences on which to build. Second, as was so apparent in Crossover High's largely futile "Basic English" classes, some students have no discernible desire to change their behavior to the patterns sought by the school.

These barriers to assimilation raise a very fundamental question: *What happens to those students who cannot or will not be assimilated?* A single tragic case will serve to illustrate both the rewards available to those who are being assimilated and the penalties incurred by those who fall short. Debbie, a light-skinned black girl, seemed well on her way to fulfilling the highest expectations of her white teachers. She was respected not only for her academic achievement but also for her personal style and behavior in the school. All was undone, however, when Debbie became pregnant in her sophomore year. She kep up with her studies in the alternative school; but when she returned to her regular school the following year, she found herself an outcast. Inexplicably dropped from her accelerated course, scorned by the teacher who had seemed most interested in her, Debbie left school at the end of the year.

Tracking and ability groups

The Collins and Noblit report (1978:20) has termed assimilation a "sort and punish" philosophy, and so it seems to be in the practice of most of the schools which adopted it. While initially appearing to represent one possible form of integration, assimilation can easily become a rationale for not integrating at all — except in the case of the favored few who happen to meet the dominant group's pre-established standards. Those who do not come up to standard are sorted into different academic curricula or otherwise shunted aside so that business can proceed as usual for the rest.

Sound educational arguments can be made for some forms of academic grouping. Many black as well as white parents have expressed concern that their children's education should be tailored to their individual needs and capabilities; standardized "college prep" curricula have been criticized as irrelevant to those students who must compete in the job market immediately following high school. When academically diverse students do take the same courses, the traditional method of presenting the same material to the entire class at the same time inevitably shortchanges someone. If the presentation is geared toward the most advanced students, those who are already behind may become hopelessly lost. Conversely, a presentation aimed at those who are lagging risks boring and alienating those who are not.

Although the rationale for ability groups is supposedly academic, assignments have occasionally been determined by non-academic considerations. In the example of the student who became pregnant, academic ability was clearly irrelevant; her reassignment to a lower track came as punishment for having failed the hidden curriculum. Similarly, Daniel's temporary promotion to the upper group in his math class resulted less from improved academic performance than from improved behavior:

> ...Mr. Hue then said, "I put him in Group One...He's bright; he has to be to get away with what he does." I commented that I had noticed that, too. I asked if Daniel was pleased to be put in Group One. Mr. Hue said, "Oh, yes; they know that that is the fast group...He was able to do the work." He hopes to use Group One membership as an incentive for Daniel.

Incidents such as these, in which students are assigned to groups with the specific *intent* of rewarding or punishing them, appear to be unusual. But even occasional use of such tactics implies at least tacit recognition of the reward-and-punishment *consequences* of such groupings. The rewarding consequences of upper-group assignment fall primarily to white students, with the punishing consequences of lower-group assignments accruing to non-whites.

From a "color-blind" perspective, such a racially differentiated outcome, even if noted, poses no particular policy problems for the school. Some teachers argued that students were not overly concerned about their group assignments or even particularly conscious of the extent to which the groups happened to divide along racial lines. But interviews revealed that many students were not as color-blind as their teachers tried to be. They noticed the academic divisions and drew their own conclusions about their significance. One white eighth-grader offered the following:

> Some of the black people always say how they hate white people because they're so much smarter than them and...always get special privileges, which isn't true because they get the same things we do...In math we have three different groups, and...the black people in the class are mostly in the lower group, and they complain that "They're smarter than us and they get to be in the higher group." I mean, if they tried they'd get to be in the higher group, too. I mean, people just didn't get to the top like that.

In the absence of careful planning and continual monitoring, academic grouping procedures can increase racial isolation, stigmatize individuals, and reinforce group stereotypes. The gravity of these consequences is compounded by the tendency of formal academic divisions to be self-perpetuating (Rist, 1973). As implied by the label, "accelerated" groups are normally introduced to new content and skills at a faster rate than other groups because the stepped-up pace is considered more appropriate to their capabilities. Almost by definition, then, the "slower" groups fall further and further behind until there is little hope that any of their members can improve their performance enough to make the leap to a more advanced group. Sadly, this proved to be the case with Daniel, the boy placed in the advanced math group as an incentive. Although this black student at first seemed able to do the work, he soon encountered material for which he was unprepared and was returned to the other group — leaving the accelerated group all white, as it had been before.

Ability grouping does have the advantage of permitting teachers to give their top students a traditional (or "quality") education at an appropriate pace, with minimum interruption for remedial or disciplinary purposes. Some teachers also attempt to utilize groupings to give specialized attention to those students who are having academic difficulty. But it is apparent that for many, if not most, teachers the higher achieving groups are the more rewarding because of their greater responsiveness to familiar teaching methods. The lower groups are more likely to be a source of frustration or resentment. In talking with a researcher, one teacher referred to the three academic levels he taught as "accelerated," "non-accelerated," and "the animals." Observation of the "animals' " class revealed no plans to assimilate, or even educate, them. Though they were still "in" the school, they had, in a very real sense, been sorted "out" before even reaching high school. Most of them were black.

Suspensions and expulsions

The disproportionate sorting out of the very students who are theoretically supposed to be assimilated also occurs in a more literal sense. Nationwide, black students are suspended or expelled at a rate more than double their proportion in the total school population (Yudof, 1975). At one of the schools studied, nearly 90 percent of all suspensions involved blacks, despite the fact that blacks constituted only a slight majority of the school's population. The principal attributed this pattern to differences between the students' former school environments. A black teacher raised a different possibility:

> Even cases whereby you see a large number of black suspensions, that doesn't mean that all the whites are angels, 'cause they have their way of doing things, too; it may not be something they're going to be suspended for, but there can still be problems. Usually with the black kid, he's usually honest — he or she is going to let you know how they feel.

This teacher's reasoning is supported by Staples' (1976) claim that black culture is distinctive in the value it places upon spontaneous and honest expression of feelings.

Explanations which assume the black suspension rate to be a direct product of pervasive black behavior patterns are made suspect by the large, unexplained variations in that rate from district to district, and even from school to school within districts. In some cases, no black-white discrepancy is evident (Yudof, 1975). One would think that unusually high numbers of suspensions of minority students, where they occur, might signal the need for re-examination of the fairness and utility of pre-desegregation discipline policies. Forehand and Ragosta (1976) recommended a particularly careful look at those rules resulting in differential punishment rates for blacks and whites. The common "no hats" rule is an obvious example. De-emphasis of such rules wherever possible should increase the perceived fairness of the system and possibly encourage greater internalization of those more essential rules which remain in force.

A resolutely "color-blind" attitude would seem to preclude such deliberate corrective steps. In the school with the 90 percent black suspension rate, nearly one-third of the teachers interviewed actually denied having noticed any difference between the black and white rates. Those who were aware of the discrepancy seemed untroubled by it, apparently secure in the conviction that racial considerations, per se, had not entered into the discipline process in any way.

Schools were in the business of sorting and punishing long before desegregation. But when desegregation suddenly increases, the academic skill, value- and goal-heterogeneity of the student body with no accompanying re-evaluation of institutional goals or strategies, the sorting process is likely to work against integration and not for it. A major problem in the assimilationist approach is that assimilation often doesn't occur. The student who is assimilated tends to be the one who fits in pretty well in the first place. Those who most require assimilation are those most likely to be sorted out. Unfortunately, statistics on differential outcomes for members of various ethnic groups arouse little interest. In a "color-blind" school, the burden of integrating into the existing system falls upon the individual student; the striking failure of the school's assimilationist goals need not be noted.

Pluralistic Coexistence

The logical obverse of assimilation is a pluralistic (Gordon, 1964) approach to integration, in which differing values and life styles are recognized and accepted. Assimilation requires that outgroup members be re-educated into the ways of the dominant majority; pluralistic coexistence envisions a society whose benefits are shared by persons who value their own distinct social identities. In practice, the dichotomy is not so clear. The most determinedly assimilationist school administration must make some accommodation to increased social diversity in its student body, if only to minimize conflict. Similarly, pluralistic coexistence cannot be absolute if the school is to have any structured utility or coherent purpose. Rist (1974, 1978:20) has predicted that *class* pluralism, in particular, will never be accepted in American schools:

> In a society premised on economic mobility, poverty is a sign of failure, not of simply being different....The suggestion that lower class children should have pride in their poverty and lack of resources is so completely antithetical to the commonsense notions of reality held by most Americans, white and nonwhite, that to opt for class pluralism as a model for school integration would be to invite disbelief and outright hostility.

The strong confounding of ethnicity and social class in this nation means that pluralists must differentiate between those attitudes and behaviors to be preserved as valid cultural expressions and those which are maladaptive or incompatible with the goal of social equality. Assimilationists are faced with similar value decisions, although the emphasis is different. Assimilationists may decide to tolerate group-related differences deemed irrelevant to the school's educational and socializing functions; pluralists actively seek to preserve distinctive group characteristics as positive values, advocating changes in those attitudes and behaviors seen as impeding progress toward social equality. Pluralists should also be distinguishable by a readiness to give this value-sorting challenge the direct and careful attention it requires. Unlike assimilationists, they are not committed to a color-blind stance; their concern is not to maintain business as usual, but to insure that the school provides an environment suitable for all groups.

Our discussion of the pluralistic coexistence approach is necessarily somewhat hypothetical, for manifestations of planned pluralism in this series of studies were remarkably rare, in contrast to the wealth of assimilationist examples. In one school, an approximation of pluralistic coexistence was observed for a time, when the principal tolerated almost complete informal resegregation of the students, to the point where there were considered to be "two schools within a school." The school's annex, for example, became known as a black area, or the "recreational study hall," while the library served as a white area, or "non-recreational study hall." Under this principal's administration, race-related differences in taste and behavioral style were recognized and accepted although, as we would expect from Rist's (1974, 1978) discussion of class pluralism, "street culture" was not accepted to any significant degree.

Because black students constituted a majority in the formerly all-white school, the principal (himself black) was concerned to retain as many white students as possible. Consequently, he prescribed equal representation of the white minority in elected honors such as "best dressed" and in certain prestigious activities such as cheerleading. The racially-balanced cheerleading squad followed his lead, reconciling taste differences by dividing its repertoire equally between black- and white-style cheers.

This experience departed from the pluralistic coexistence model in that the principal went beyond guaranteeing certain forms of equality for the white minority and actually gave them preferential treatment in an apparent bid to keep them in the system. For example, minimum grade and behavior requirements and the need for teacher approval of candidates enabled the well-organized white students to retain control of student government despite being outnumbered by blacks. Less subtle moves included lighter teaching loads and more "honors" classes for white teachers, and a dual standard of discipline under which white students were merely reprimanded for the same behaviors that generally netted suspensions for blacks. Policies such as these, ratifying the worth of white students and teachers at the expense of the more expendable blacks, cannot be considered pluralistic in any meaningful sense.

Specific affirmation of black experience, values and contributions *was* noted occasionally at several of the schools although it tended to be a "minority" concern in both senses of the word; only a minority of the teachers evidenced such a concern, and those who did tended to be black. One school gave a nod to pluralism by its use of a social studies curriculum which included one unit dealing specifically with black history. Most of the teachers adhered to the organization of the curriculum, confining all discussion of race-related issues to the designated unit. Any treatment of black-white relations in this context was almost invariably in terms of *past* exploitation of blacks by whites.

Many of the black teachers at this school, however, went somewhat farther than their colleagues, dealing with race-related matters throughout the year. Their primary purposes seemed to be to increase black students' self-respect through appreciation of their heritage and to encourage them to strive for greater accomplishment in various arenas. One teacher told her interracial class:

> "Blacks were taught by slaveholders, if at all. Now we have good schools...There is no excuse for some of you not to go down in history as being famous...." The teacher explains that singing is a natural talent that black people have. "We don't have to prepare too much to do it." She says another thing is that black people are natural dancers. "It's in our heritage from Africa. We black people have natural talents for singing, dancing, and sports. Don't let being poor keep you from doing something like that."

Pluralistic coexistence, where it was pursued at all in the schools studied, might be characterized as "compartmentalized pluralism" or "laissez-faire pluralism." The worth of various social groups and the validity of their cultural values was affirmed, as was each group's right to an equal place in the school and in society. But just as Black history was a separate unit in the textbook, bearing little discernible relationship to the "regular" history in the rest of it, contemporary black and white experiences were treated as separate domains. Previously denigrated black values and identities were endorsed, but with little indication of what these might contribute to the majority outlook, or vice versa. All ethnic groups were to be respected, but no guidance was offered concerning how they might interact. One teacher illustrated the idea of pluralistic compartmentalism with his classroom decorations. A typical display was headed by the slogan, "Great People come from Families like yours." Underneath were pictures of Abraham Lincoln, George Washington, Thurgood Marshall, George Washington Carver, and Marion Anderson, as well as a black and a white family — a positive affirmation of black and white contributions. Yet, for some reason, the black personages and the black family were all on one side of the display, with all the whites on the other side and a gap in between.

The pluralistic coexistence approach to integration, then, is just that — a tolerant, live-and-let-live acceptance of different styles and values. The relationship between groups, as long as it remains peaceful, is unlikely to receive much attention. Rather than being denied or attributed solely to social class differences, a certain amount of ethnic separation is considered natural or even desirable, since it allows members of different social groups to follow their divergent interests and to store up those values considered important to their social identity.

Barriers to equality

We question, however, whether students from minority groups which are, in the larger society, economically, socially, and educationally subordinate to the white majority can realistically be expected to achieve equality within the school simply by coexisting with white students. Some group characteristics, such as hair texture or styles of dress, are relatively easy to affirm as different-but-equal; other (usually class-related) attributes stubbornly persist in communicating status differences.

Behavioral differences between minority and majority group students reinforce old group stereotypes, or even contribute to the formation of new stereotypes which are likely to have strong evaluative connotations. Such stereotyping tendencies can be expected to occur to some extent whenever desegregation crosses ethnic and social class lines simultaneously, but we would expect it to be especially pronounced under conditions of mere coexistence. Side-by-side coexistence gives students ample opportunity to make general inferences about an entire outgroup (often on the basis of the most noticeable or extreme examples), but little chance to become familiar with outgroup members as diverse individuals.

Class-related ethnic group differences in academic background and performance may constitute an even greater obstacle to the attainment of separate-but-equal minority group status within a school. The academic goals and functions of the school virtually guarantee that such differences will be seen as reflecting minority group deficiencies.

Ironically, attempts to apply compartmented or laissez-faire pluralism to the academic dimension run the risk of producing results scarcely discernible from those obtained under an academic sort-and-punish approach. The designation of separate "recreational" and "non-recreational" study halls at Crossover, for example, could be seen as an attempt to accommodate the different styles or preferences characteristic of the school's white and black students, but it hardly seems to have furthered the cause of racial equality within the school. This form of pluralistic coexistence seems to us to reinforce (in the minds of both black and white students) stereotypes about group differences in academic ability and-or motivation, as well as to communicate different messages to members of the two groups concerning what they are expected to produce.

Hence, it appears that laissez-faire pluralism can easily lead to the formation of separate and unequal groups: one in tune with the basic goals and functions of the school, and the other merely tolerated, with little productivity required and little education provided. Such an attitude appears implicit in the following teacher comment:

> Kids, no matter how you plan, [aren't] going to change their minds because you say so... Therefore, let things run their natural course and kids will get along. The kids that are good will loaf with those that are good; kids that are mischievous and rotten will loaf together too. To mix them up would be defeating the purpose of life.

The academic differences frequently found between majority and minority students in interracial schools appear to constitute a major barrier to the realization of the pluralistic goals. These barriers will be overcome only by significant changes in institutional philosophy and practice. These changes are unlikely to be unilaterally instituted by a dominant majority already satisfied with its relative status. Neither will they follow from simple assertions of pride and self-worth by socially isolated minorities.

Integration without Mixing

We began by discussing variations in the phenomenon of desegregation, or physical mixing, in the schools because of our assumption that such mixing was an obvious prerequisite to the more complex process of social integration. We have seen that the assimilationist and pluralistic coexistence approaches to shaping the post-desegregation social order have virtually guaranteed a significant amount of formal and-or informal resegregation. Assimilation has sorted students according to majority-defined standards; pluralistic coexistence has allowed students to sort themselves according to their own tastes and preferences.

Desegregation free of major intergroup conflict can be a significant accomplishment, even if achieved at the price of minimizing actual intergroup contact. Even with minimal social contact in interracial schools members of formerly isolated social groups are more visible to each other than they were under total segregation. All of the schools examined have provided this intergroup visibility, under conditions of minimal conflict. For some students, conflict-free exposure can serve a fear-reducing function even if it does not result in clearly positive feelings about outgroup members. For example, both black and white students at Wexler reported feeling frightened less often at the end of their second year than they did at the end of their first, in spite of the fact that there was no change in the amount of intimidation, fighting, rejection, or ridicule they reported.

Even at Crossover High, where resegregation and avoidance were extreme, there appears to have been a positive effect which can be appreciated only against the background of racial segregation, conflict, and fear which characterized the larger community. The segregated private school environment into which so many students had fled could hardly prepare these students for life in a city which was nearly 50 percent black. Graduates of these schools, in fact, tended to show very little tolerance for interracial situations. In contract, even the marginal mixing in the public schools, while not noticeably altering racial attitudes, at least "tended to reduce the degree of terror for the whites and blacks involved in the process":

> Jane and I were out with a bunch of girls from a private school. We were parked at a drive-in restaurant when several blacks drove up and parked beside us. The private school girls immediately began closing the windows and locking the doors. We were dumbfounded; we couldn't believe it. We asked them what they were doing, why they were so scared.

A graduate of Pawnee West offered an even more positive statement of the benefits to be gained from an interracial education:

> ...You could take a kid from Pawnee West and you could put him in almost any situation and any social situation and, although he may not exactly fit in, he will be aware enough to where he can kind of smooth off some of these rough edges and get on and keep himself out of trouble.

One teacher's relatively optimistic assessment of the students' progress toward social integration at Wexler is made doubly interesting because of her clear statement of the limits of that progress:

> I think that some of the students came here

> with fears or apprehensions...But (now) I think you can see a relaxed atmosphere. *Even if some of the students are never friends and never sleep over at each others' houses or go together on weekends*...They are capable of working together and not shunning one another because of their color...*They become acquaintances to say hello to.* (Emphasis added.)

This teacher's upbeat but modest estimate of the situation is strongly suggestive of Cohen's (1975:273) urging of a more realistic criterion of successful desegregation than the cross-racial friendship-choice measures commonly used by researchers:

> The mechanism of desegregation is not intended to create universal love and brotherhod. The goal of the desegregation process is a reasonable degree of social integration and a lack of overt conflict whereby blacks and whites, given an objective important to both, can trust each other and listen to each other sufficiently well to complete the task at hand.

In virtually all the schools studied, the desire to avoid intergroup conflict appeared to play a major role in administrative and teacher decisions concerning how actively social integration was sought. Our long national history of racial exploitation and conflict, and the continuing economic and status gap between white and nonwhite peoples, mean that virtually any step toward increased intergroup communication and contact carries with it at least some potential for conflict or stress. In some schools, the attainment of a relatively conflict-free school in the earlier years of desegregation is a real accomplishment, even if it entails some degree of resegregation. However, in many other schools in which the situation is somewhat less volatile, the focus on conflict avoidance through resegregation leads school staff to underestimate or ignore the potential negative consequences.

One striking result of racial isolation within racially mixed schools is an almost total lack of communication between ethnic groups in spite of the reduction of feelings of fear. Students have enough contact with each other so they form impressions of out-group members, but they can only imagine how the social world, and they themselves, are perceived by them. Where the school is officially "color-blind," as was the case with most of the schools reviewed, there may not even be much opportunity to discuss one's interracial perceptions with one's same-race peers, let alone with the adults in the system. The calm contentment which appears to characterize such situations may be superficial, as suggested by this interview with Susan, a white girl:

I: Do you think black and white kids in general get along worse this year or better or about the same?
R: Better.
I: Do you think it will continue to get better next year, or will it get worse?
R: Yeah, it will get better next year.
I: Umhum, and what sorts of —
R: Unless there's a race riot.
I: Do you think there's much chance of something like that happening?
R: No.
I: Do kids ever talk about something like that?
R: No, I've never heard it.
I: Umhum.
R: They might.

Susan is not paranoid. She realizes that she has no good reason to expect racial conflict in her school and she offers a rather optimistic prognosis. Nevertheless, she cannot rule out the possibility of serious racial conflict; given the lack of communication between and about the school's social groups, all she can do is guess.

Black and white students frequently express bewilderment and hostility towards the outgroup, which stems at least partially from a failure to understand the other group's actions or point of view. Researchers at Grandin Elementary school noticed a particularly pronounced difference between the behavioral styles valued by black and white girls. Among the white girls it was important to be "sweet and nice," whereas the black girls were more likely to play with, or test each other, via aggressive verbal exchanges. It was important to these black girls to show that they could defend themselves in such exchanges. In contrast, the white girls commonly responded to verbal challenges by assuming the "vulnerable female" role, hoping that the aggressor would be shamed into backing off. The conflict between these two orientations is shown in the following incident:

> Bridget (a black student) first started criticizing Tracy (a white student) indirectly. She remarked that the table was very crowded that day and proceeded to list those who were not supposed to be sitting at the table. One she mentioned was a black girl; the other was Tracy. The black girl who was named immediately declared her intention to sit there anyway. Tracy said nothing. A little later, Tracy asked Jane, who was sitting beside her, how to spell "giraffe." Jane told Bridget with a smothered laugh that Tracy had chosen a giraffe to write about. Bridget said, "She (Tracy) looks like a giraffe." At first Tracy made an acceptable response by retorting that Bridget looked like a giraffe, but then almost immediately Tracy broke into another style: "I'm a tenderskin. I get hurt when people talk about me. It isn't nice to talk about people." Bridget started mimicking Tracy. "Look at her; she can't even take a little joke....She acts like a baby."

White students often complained that blacks deliberately intimidated them in the hallways, restrooms, or stairwells. Black students agreed with that assessment yet expressed puzzlement or annoyance over the white students' seemingly unnatural failure to respond to minor aggressive acts. (See Scherer and Slawski, this volume, for a discussion of "hassling" behavior.) The two students quoted below — one white, one black — appear equally mystified:

> "The blacks...think they are really *bad*, and they think they can beat up anybody they can. I don't know why they act like that. If you don't mind your own business they will kick you down the stairs...I don't know why they do that."
>
> R: Like if a black hits another black they know they will get hit back but if they hit a white they just keep on going...
> *I: Why do you think that white people let it go?*
> R: I don't know. [The blacks] ought to get smacked if they push...[The whites] look like they are mad but I don't know...

Although resegregation within the school virtually guarantees such a lack of communications between groups, this kind of psychological isolation is not totally dependent upon physical isolation. Formerly isolated students thrust into physical proximity in interracial schools often seem to avoid psychological contact even if they cannot avoid physical proximity. Examples of mutual psychological avoidance (which we take to be the more usual case) do not make for very interesting reading, and their interpretation is often uncertain. A typical observation in the field notes reads simply, "No interaction has been noted between Bill and Kelly (a black male and white female seated at the same small table) today." More interesting and unambiguous are those incidents in which one person makes an overture, placing the burden of avoidance on the other:

> Tim (black) lightly hits John (white) on the arm to get his attention. He then asks, "How do you spell 'grain'?" John makes no response whatever, not even acknowledging that Tim has touched him...(Later) Tim turns to John and says: "How do you spell 'syllables'?" When John makes no immediate response, Tim hits the dictionary which is open in John's lap six times rather hard with the palm of his hand. Still John makes no response.

A less extreme form of psychological avoidance allows for polite conversation and interaction but precludes any discussion of intergroup relations or race-related issues. A white social studies teacher serving his first year in an interracial school, offered the following observation concerning his own reluctance to deal with racial issues:

> Before I was at an all-black school which was much easier. You just came out and discussed things like prejudice, why there is hatred between blacks and whites when they don't even know each other. It hasn't come out here yet... Maybe I've made sure to keep it down. I really don't want to hear it, you know.

Note that this teacher was inhibited, not by the presence of black students in his classroom, but by the racial *mix*. Especially intriguing is the almost off-hand acknowledgement of racial "hatred" as he reminisces about the safer all-black discussion environment. This strongly negative and seemingly unself-conscious reference stands in jarring contrast to the relatively benign assessment of black-white relations offered by almost any other teacher in any other context. Most will simply maintain that the students get along all right on their own, coexisting peacefully even as they go their separate ways. Specific interventions or pointed discussions, it is argued, are simply not needed.

Integrated Pluralism: A Goal to Pursue

Earlier sections of this essay have isolated two basic problems which stand in the way of achieving integrated schools. First, both the assimilationist and the pluralist perpsectives foster practices which tend to lead to resegregation. Students' own apparent preferences for contact with in-group members, whether based on positive in-group ties or hostility with the out-group, reinforce this formally sanctioned resegregation. Second, the racially isolated groupings that tend to form in interracial schools are rarely "separate but equal." The assimilationist school, with its emphasis on making black children fit in and measure up, and its lack of adjustment to the new challenges posed in an interracial school, frequently becomes an institution which puts minority students at a disadvantage and gives up even attempting to educate those most in need. While there is no logical connection between the separatism fostered by a laissez-faire pluralism and inequality, in practice, the connection is very real because of the unequal position of blacks and whites in the larger society.

We would suggest that a perspective which we will call integrated pluralism is likely to be more effective both academically and in intergroup relations than either the assimilationist or the laissez-faire pluralist strategy. Integrated pluralism is pluralistic in the sense that it recognizes the diverse racial and ethnic groups in our society and does not denigrate them because they deviate from the white middle class patterns of behavior. Integrated pluralism affirms the equal value of the school's various ethnic groups, encouraging their participation, not on majority-defined terms, but in an evolving system which reflects the contributions of all groups. However, integrated pluralism goes beyond mere support for the side-by-side coexistence of different group values and styles. It is integrationist in the sense that it affirms the educational value inherent in exposing *all* students to a diversity of perspectives and behavioral repertoires, and the social value of structuring the school so that students from previously isolated and even hostile groups can come to know each other under conditions conducive to the development of positive intergroup relations.

Achieving integrated pluralism

Both integrated and compartmentalized pluralism share the goal of fostering a positive sense of group identity in minority students. However, integrated pluralism differs from compartmentalized pluralism in the extent to which it envisions the school as a unitary system rather than as a federation of separate and theoretically equal subunits. Integrated pluralism takes an activist stance in promoting interaction between different groups of students rather than accepting resegregation as either desirable or inevitable. Since it stresses the unity of the school and the equality of various groups of students within the school, it focuses special attention on factors which influence the perception of the school as belonging to all groups of students. Some of these factors, such as the previous ethnic composition of the student body or the location of the school, are often determined by historical or demographic circumstances over which the school has little control. Other factors are more malleable. Yet, all combine to influence the extent to which integrated pluralism is likely to be achieved.

The previous ethnic composition of a school's student body appears to have a major impact on how that school is viewed when it is desegregated. Newly desegregated schools almost invariably are perceived as basically "black" or "white" depending upon their original ethnic identities. Newly assigned students are generally seen as outsiders by the veterans who already know their way around both the building and the system, and who have already claimed the school and its traditions as their own. This insider-outsider relationship establishes status and behavior patterns which may persist even after the pre-desegregation students have left the school. Minimization of this potentially unequal situation calls for decisive steps to modify the school's identity — e.g., by renaming the school or having the desegregated student body collaborate on developing new traditions such as a school mascot or song.

The racial composition of the community in which a school is located also strongly influences the school's image. The symbolic and practical significance of building location was highlighted by the controversy over the site for the new Pawnee West High School. Original plans called for a "safe" location adjacent to an affluent white neighborhood; black parents lobbied for an inner-city site. The building was finally put up on a racially neutral site about half-way between the other two locations, with a potential for an equal stake in the school for blacks and whites.

Federal courts have occasionally stipulated that the racial composition of faculty within a given school should reflect that of the district as a whole. Unfortunately, this rule of thumb provides no guarantee that the composition of the faculty will resemble that of the student body. Sheridan's claim to multi-ethnicity, for example, was dimmed by the fact that the faculty was overwhelmingly white, reflecting city-wide hiring practices which placed younger minority teachers at the ends of impossibly long waiting lists. Wexler's principal's desire to recruit a racially balanced faculty was thwarted by the fact that the percentage of black teachers in the city's pool was considerably less than the percentage of black students.

The staff's absolute ethnic ratio. over which the local school may have little control, may not tell us much about the relative status of the school's ethnic groups as does their distribution throughout the staff hierarchy. Thus Wexler's principal was able to compensate somewhat for the racial imbalance on his staff by carefully naming blacks to exactly half of the ten major administrative positions. In contrast, although Crossover had a black principal, his deliberate delegation of preferred assignments to the white teachers clearly communicated his belief that whites were more important than blacks to the successful functioning of that particular school.

Although the existing ethnic composition of the student body may be the most obvious determinant of a school's perceived ethnicity, especially from the viewpoint of an outsider, it is hardly determinative of the students' perceptions of "whose school this is." Black students at one school found that they were able, through their increasing numbers, to control more and more of the student activities. Yet many of them continued to perceive the school as an alien "white" institution primarily because of its relentless attempts to "reform" their speech and life styles. This fact suggests the importance of considering the more subtle factors which, at least for students, determine whether a school is seen as black, white, or truly pluralistic.

Legitimation of students' social identities: recognition and acceptance of diversity

The remarkable persistance of Crossover's "white" image in the minds of its majority black student body points to the importance of this final factor in determining which groups will feel "at home" in the school. Students cannot claim as their own an institution whose practices invalidate their social identities. The extent to which teachers' and administrators' personal values happen to coincide with the model position of one student group or another is not of concern here. The more central concern is the extent to which the school recognizes and values the groups themselves.

One way in which an interracial school can recognize the diversity of its student body is the use of a multi-ethnic curriculum. One aim of such materials has been to contradict white children's stereotypes by portraying blacks and other ethnic minorities as having good jobs, owning their own homes in integrated neighborhoods, and generally displaying socially valued middle-class characteristics. Litcher and Johnson (1969) found, in fact, that the use of just such multi-ethnic readers resulted in more positive attitudes toward blacks among elementary school children in a virtually all-white community. Such materials are also often seen as portraying positive role models for black students. However, materials which portray only middle-class people, be they black or white, do not fully meet the strategy suggested by the integrated pluralism perspective of accepting diversity.

Integrated pluralism suggests that the ideal multi-ethnic curriculum will help students define and interpret their experience in an interracial setting. It cannot serve that function if it denies that experience by depicting all minority persons as middle class Americans. We are not suggesting that the curriculum should reinforce the confounding of race and class. Presenting minority as well as white high-status role models seems a sound practice. But positive depiction of economically disadvantaged persons, both black and white, can provide low status children with materials which deal with life as they know it, as well as contributing to understanding across economic and cultural lines and providing models of constructive coping with difficult circumstances.

Curricular materials can help set a tone of mutual acceptance and appreciation; but the basic resource for an integrated education is the diversity of experience and outlook which the students themselves bring into the classroom. The learning experiences that they can provide each other will often be more concrete and vivid than the generalized lessons contained in the formal curriculum. For example, an urban sociology unit in a high school could be considerably enriched by student discussions or projects which would expose participants to a variety of local traditions, family structures, and styles of dealing with different neighborhood, economic, or social problems. Student discussions and projects hardly represent radical technical innovations, but their use in the way we are suggesting has often been routinely avoided for fear of highlighting racial divisions. Furthermore, such information exchanges cannot take place if the students who stand to learn the most from each other have already been sorted into totally different course sequences. A good example of utilization of the students' diversity as a teaching device was shown by a language arts teacher who assigned essays on family history shortly after the televised presentation of Alex Haley's *Roots*. These essays, which were posted around the room in prominent places, stimulated a good deal of discussion between black and white students.

The previous discussion of the assimilationist perspective raises one important issue which must be dealt with briefly here. That is: how compatible are the goals of (1) broadening the range of cultural values accepted in the school and (2) facilitating minority students' access to the rewards of the larger social system One could argue that pluralistic innovations in the school social system would leave minority students unprepared to cope with the social realities they will encounter in the world beyond school. On the issue of "Black English," a white language arts teacher took a hard-nosed pragmatic stand:

> I think everyone needs to read, to speak, and to try to write correctly. You can talk Polish at home, or ghetto language in the street...but when you are out there in the world you have to be able to read and write what everyone else does, the majority. That happens to be English and that happens to be...spoken by the majority which is white...That's just the way it is.

No one can say that these concerns are groundless. It may be that even something so innocuous as braided hair can restrict a black male's job chances in the community around Crossover High, as their teacher warned them. Students have a right to be informed of such social realities. There is a difference, however, between presenting information and skills for students to use as they see fit, and demanding that the student be converted to a more acceptable social identity. It may not be that requiring students to remain hatless throughout the school day is the best way to teach them when it might be prudent to remove their caps. In the same vein, the frustrated Basic English teacher might have encountered less resistance in the classroom if she had not been so concerned with the language used in the halls — if she had taught Standard English as a useful skill, rather than preached it as a way of life. The popularity of courses in "Standard English as a Second Language" in some black inner-city

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schools appears to hinge on just such a distinction (DeStefano, 1973). By treating Standard English as a useful alternative, Black English — and Black identity — is affirmed. Yet, at the same time, students are provided with language skills which will be of real use to them in preparing for future education or in seeking employment.

Bi-lateral transfer of information

As discussed earlier, the predominant assimilationist view sees desegregation as a procedure designed to *help blacks*. In contrast to this view, the school promoting pluralist integration explicitly and implicitly tries to foster a two-way flow of information and influence.

Obviously there will be some values or behaviors which few people would think it appropriate for the school to sanction. If Rist (1978) is correct about America's attitude toward class pluralism, few middle-class parents would be willing to tolerate a school in which many values or behaviors which are seen as being lower-class are legitimated and presented as an acceptable option for middle-class children. However, there appear to be numerous things, ranging from the trivial to the important, that black and white students can learn from each other. Black and white students at one school frequently took the initiative in actively exploring the physical differences in hair texture and culture differences in grooming practices:

> Quite near to me Sarah, a white girl, touches the elaborately braided hair of Barb, a black girl, who is sitting next to her. Barb smiles slightly and runs her hand through Sarah's long dark very straight hair. Barb says to Sarah, "It's nice."

At another school, a teacher discovered that a white girl was interested in the school's dance club — a "black" activity — but did not know how to dance. The teacher asked two club members to teach the girl, providing a room where they could practice privately without embarrassing her as she learned.

Other, more important, lessons can be provided by an integrated education, not the least of these, learning to interact effectively with members of other racial or ethnic groups. Some of this learning must be based on trial and error. Less frequently, but no less importantly, students sometimes teach each other directly. A teacher described how one black student took it upon herself to offer white students some needed advice, despite the characteristic "color-blind" stance of their high school:

> You know I had a black girl stand up in one of my classes. She turned around and said, "Why do you Honkies take stuff from us? You don't have to. You know that if someone takes your pencil, you don't have to put up with that. You wouldn't if it was a white person."

Integrated pluralism and resegregation

It is obvious that the mutual sharing of experiences and skills cannot occur if students are physically resegregated. Less obvious, but nonetheless important, is the fact that such sharing did not occur to any great extent in the schools studied, except when special efforts were made to break down the psychological and social barriers between students. In order to work toward integrated pluralism, a school must find ways to promote physical proximity and positive interaction between white and minority students. One of the comparatively rare teachers who advocated deliberate attempts to overcome physical and social isolation of blacks and whites recommended a very cautious approach:

> I don't think you can push kids to socialize (when) they don't want to. I think it is going to cause problems...I try to do it in different ways, but I don't think the kids know what is happening. I think you can pull some tricks on them....It is just basically a matter of moving tables around, and to do their work...they have to sit there and talk...Some of the social studies book is so difficult that they have to work together. They have to depend on each other.

A math teacher in the same school used a subtle technique which seemed to foster more than the usual amount of voluntary interracial contact. She used an individualized teaching approach which obscured differences among the students' achievement levels. Each student periodically contracted with the teacher to accomplish an appropriate amount of work. Students who completed their work ahead of time could earn extra credit by undertaking any one of several interesting projects described at various stations around the room. Many of these projects necessitated gathering information from other students in the room. Those working on projects could approach anyone they chose, but one person's information was as useful as another's, regardless of race, sex, or academic status. Thus, many contacts crossed all three of these traditional social barriers.

> David (white male) asks Laura (black female) "How tall am I?" He's standing by a vertical strip of paper on the wall which is marked off in inches. This optional work station involves measuring the height of a number of classmates and finding their ages in months — then seeing the relationship between height and age and checking to see how well classmates' heights can be predicted from their ages. Although Laura is taller than David, she engages in a lot of touching as she attempts to determine his height, putting her hand on his head and then on one arm and then on his head again and then on his arm again. Now that Laura has determined David's height, she asks "How tall am I, y'all?" She stands up against the tape, and Dave takes a step back and looks without making any physical contact, and tells her her height...David says to Kevin, a black male who's sitting down and writing, "Kevin, do you want to be measured?" Kevin waves them off with a frown that looks almost angry. David says, "*Come on, we need you.*" Kevin replied, "You don't need me." David says, sounding somewhat piqued, "Okay, we don't need you; we'll get somebody else." But even as David is saying this, Kevin is getting up and going to the station. David doesn't notice Kevin until he is right next to him. Then, sounding surprised but receptive, he asks tentatively, "Do you want to do it?" After measuring Kevin, David asks his age and says, "When were you 13?" I don't hear Kevin's answer, but David says, "Really?" sounding quite interested. They talk briefly. (Emphasis added.)

These students discovered in a very small way that they were dependent upon each other for their education. The statement, "We need you," crossing normal social barriers, marks the beginning of integrated pluralism.

In situations characterized by strong student norms which promote racial isolation, subtle approaches may be totally inadequate to stimulate positive contact. Students may choose to forego the extra credit or to approach only in-group members for assistance. In these situations, teachers trying to achieve integrated pluralism may structure classroom activities so that black and white students are required to work together. This strategy, however, may reinforce old stereotypes if the minority students in those groups are less prepared academically than the majority students. Indeed, the work of Cohen and her colleagues suggests that even when black and white junior high school students working on a task are equally able to contribute to it, mutually shared expectations about the superior capabilities of whites may lead white children to dominate the interaction (Cohen and Roper, 1972; Cohen, Lockheed and Lohman, 1976). Hence, the school striving to achieve integrated pluralism must find creative ways of dealing with these expectancies as well as with whatever differences exist in reality.

Recent experimental work suggests that there are a number of ways of structuring joint activity in racially mixed work groups which yield increased interpersonal attraction across racial lines (Aronson, Blaney, Sikes, Stephan and Snapp, 1975; DeVries, Edwards and Slavin, in press; Johnson, Johnson and Scott, in press; Slavin and Madden, 1978; Weigel, Wiser and Cook, 1975). The further finding that such procedures can improve the motivation and performance of normally low-achieving students without impairing that of their high-achieving co-workers should serve as an inducement even to teachers unenthusiastic about the social goals of integrated pluralism. The specific techniques which have been developed and tested in interracial classrooms are reviewed elsewhere and will not be discussed in detail here (Slavin and

Madden, 1978), but all of them involve inducing students to work cooperatively on interracial terms. Although the different techniques vary in their details, they all tend to require that students work together to attain valued rewards. For example, Aronson *et al.* (1975) developed the "jigsaw" technique in which students each receive different pieces of information which must then be taught to other group members.

Two other effective techniques, the "Teams-Games-Tournament" method and the "Student Teams-Achievement Division," both structure the work situation so that small teams work together for joint rewards. All students, regardless of performance level, have a chance to do well and earn points for their team; students are individually responsible for showing exactly what they have learned (Slavin and Madden, 1978). Much remains to be learned about effective strategies for fostering academic learning and positive intergroup relations, but research to date provides sound and practical guidance for those who wish to start implementing such strategies now.

A Concluding Note

Achieving a truly integrated pluralism in American schools is clearly a difficult task. There is no easy or risk-free way of bringing children from previously isolated and often hostile groups together to form a social system which recognizes and facilitates the development of the positive attributes associated with various group identities and, at the same time, provides mechanisms to foster the kind of contact between groups which develops positive intergroup relations. The magnitude of the challenge is increased by the unequal economic, social, and educational status of blacks and whites in the larger society.

Although integrated pluralism is an ambitious goal, the case studies on which this essay is based suggest the importance of questioning the more typical goal of assimilation. Policies associated with assimilation as well as with laissez-faire pluralism tend, in practice, to result in schools in which black and white students are found in generally separate and unequal groups. This type of interracial approach does appear to have some positive results. Even in schools with minimal contact between groups there was some reduction in fear for those students who started out very fearful of the out-group. On the other hand, there are also a number of negative consequences of this type of schooling, including the possibility that old stereotypes may be bolstered and that even quite young low-achieving minority students may be written off as virtually uneducable.

None of the schools studied came near to fulfilling the goals of integrated pluralism. However, one of them, Wexler School, came noticeably closer than the others. Interviews with two students give a glimpse of the type of learning that a well-structured interracial school can provide. Don, a white boy, speaks of how students' preconceived ideas are changed by contact with each other:

> *I: Do you think that being in a school like Wexler has changed white kids' ideas about blacks in any way?*
>
> R: It probably changed their ideas...It could be a white person living out in the country might hear stories about race riots and everything. They might come to the city thinking that all black people are bad. That's wrong... It could be somebody that thinks they are a real liberal...thinks that black people have the right to take out their aggressions on white people... They find out that this is wrong whenever they get beat up for no reason.

The words of Becky, a black girl, capture beautifully the lesson that integrated pluralism seeks to teach:

> *I: Are you glad you came to Wexler or do you wish you had gone to another school?*
>
> R: I guess I am glad I came here. I learned a lot of things about people.
>
> *I: What kinds of things, can you tell me?*
>
> R: How people really are the same, and in some ways....different.

VI. Five Perspectives on Desegregation in Schools: A Summary

By Patricia Rosenbaum

In the papers in this volume, the authors have approached the results of several years of field research at five different sites, seeking commonalities in the experiences of individual schools in dealing with the social reality of desegregation. In their search they have employed different organizing concepts and have focused on different actors located at different places in the organization. They have considered the effects of social and economic forces and interest groups in the wider communities of the schools; the shift in the structures of organizational authority and individual responses to that shift; the patterns of encounters and representations in cross-race relationships within the organization; the causes and effects of alienation of certain participants in the organization; the different definitions of desegregation and implications of those differences for policy and program.

As the papers demonstrate, commonalities have emerged. The authors have been able to develop general statements from the body of field material, and comment on general aspects of desegregation as well as describe its particular manifestations. This paper is an effort to round off the discussion with another search for commonalities, this time drawn from the papers themselves. It seeks to make some general statements about desegregation as revealed by the five perspectives of the papers, as those papers draw upon the whole of the field research data.

Meanings of Desegregation

Although each paper is different, as each research site was different, some common themes are visible across the whole. First and most striking is the revelation of the underlying problem related to views about the proper function of the schools and the meaning of desegregation — a problem which might be summarized as an inability to define terms in a way that all parties can accept.

It was not part of the writers' intentions, nor was it their charge, to define the proper function of schools. It is clear, however, from their words, that they recognize a multiplicity of functions as well as a certain amount of uncertainty and concern about the role of the public school system current in the communities studied. Sullivan speaks of the school's function very broadly in terms of transmission of culture, which includes both values and skills. In his discussion of individual communities he shows clearly that various groups see different functions for the school related to employment, academic concerns and political power.

Scherer and Slawski (21) note that the whole issue of desegregation has become involved with "a growing feeling of ambivalence about both the performance and outcomes of public education" and speak of "amorphous feelings of uncertainty about the function of schools." Clement and Livesay show how differences exist within the schools themselves concerning the proper role of the school; in their discussion of Crossover High School they describe how older staff members stress academic accomplishment while newer staff are also concerned with character building (53). Noblit and Collins note that one of the functions of schools generally in this culture is the development of a capability for employment, and see this function as the salient function for the group with which they are concerned. Implicit in Sagar and Schofield's contrast of assimilationist and pluralist perspectives in the schools is a difference in opinion about the appropriate function of the institution.

The range of the presentations of the authors on the question of school function indicates that there is room for a number of legitimate functions in the overall role of the school in the community, covered by Sullivan's umbrella of "transmission of culture." However, differences of opinion and ambiguity about function underlie some of the problems of school desegregation, as the authors make clear. Schools involved in efforts to desegregate appear to be caught at the intersection of two sets of questions: one set concerns the proper role and function of the school; one set concerns the meaning and significance of desegregation itself. Differences and ambiguities about what the school should provide for its students in the way of programs, resources and opportunities are compounded by differences and ambiguities in how to deal with a newly diversified student population.

As it was not the writers' responsibility to define the proper function of the school, so it was not their role or purpose to impose a single definition of "desegregation" across all commentaries, but rather to demonstrate the variety in the interpretations of desegregation through the individual communities and schools, and to show how these variations affected those involved in the process. They accepted the schools' own presentations of themselves as desegregated and sought the meaning of the term in the relationships and behaviors observed in the field. The papers reveal the existence of ambiguity and disagreement in the definition of desegregation and little in the way of guidance toward a common understanding.

Sullivan notes that "Ambiguities in the definition of desegregation resulting from the enormous local variation are so great" that he introduces the general term "culture contact" in order to organize his data (3). Scherer and Slawski discuss desegregation as "event" and "process," and note its different meanings to those involved with it as an issue. The questions raised about previously-accepted school policies and procedures by court desegregation orders, and the conflicting reactions to desegregation by local communities, has resulted, they state, in a "policy paralysis" which has focused efforts and actions on the "details of legal acquiescence" (22).

Clement and Livesay interpret desegregation as a requirement which creates a paradox within the school in that it demands the schools to eliminate their mechanisms for racial stratification while still pressuring them "to respond to a societal context which culturally and structurally continues to reflect a profound cleavage between blacks and whites" (39). This has led to a variety of responses which range from denying race as a factor of importance in any school situation to accepting race and ethnic characteristics as a rationale for organization. Noblit and Collins point out that desegregation as a policy is dependent on the definition of the problem it is to address, and that such definitions are usually the product of the efforts of political interest groups and the media (59). In their paper they concentrate on the effects of the definitions of desegregation on one particular group within the school and show how that group has been alienated from the organization.

Sagar and Schofield distinguish between "desegregation" and "integration," seeing the former as physical mixing of formerly separate groups and the latter as the incorporation of formerly separate groups into a viable social system which includes the values of both groups (71). They illustrate how the different definitions of "integration" have resulted in different policies and programs within the schools, none of which contribute to the development of a truly viable social system for both groups.

One aspect of desegregation on which there is general agreement, and which the papers indicate has been the major thrust of most of the activity in all of the schools studied, is its meaning in terms of access. Whether favored or opposed, desegregation is seen as a mechanism to provide equal access to educational resources for all children in the public school and "equal access" has been interpreted by the courts and pursued by communities in terms of numbers and proportions of children representing different racial and ethnic groups to be found within individual schools. It has also been interpreted in terms of equal access to professional employment within the system and, to some extent, additional minority representation on policy-making bodies.

There is, however, little agreement about what else desegregation means beyond numbers. There are no clear understandings about the type and quality of the educational resources to be provided or about the nature of the educational experience to be developed in the mixing of these formerly separated groups. The actions of the courts in issuing desegregation orders implies that the schools' previous performance has not been acceptable, but the requirements attached to those orders relate to numbers and proportions of racial minorities in the organization population, not to educational results. Faced with conflicting public opinions, schools responded to the courts by concentrating on the mechanisms of access and distribution; in Scherer and Slawski's expressive phrase, "The letter of the law was followed because the spirit was too difficult to capture" (22).

Even the letter of the law has been difficult to define in some cases. Sullivan and Sagar and Schofield discuss the problems of determining "community" and establishing useable ratios for determining the correct balance for school populations. As community population distributions change, especially in the larger urban areas, maintaining ratios in individual schools becomes increasingly difficult and more and more organizational energy is directed toward that end.

The approach to desegregation as access has not led to uniform procedures or development of program within desegregated schools. Several papers (Sullivan, Clement and Livesay, Sagar and Schofield) show the effects of different combinations of influences within the community — social, political, economic — on the behaviors within the schools. Sullivan notes different emphases on education as employment and education as academic accomplishment within black interest groups in different communities; Clement and Livesay show the results of community expectations about relations between races on behaviors within schools.

The papers in this volume all illustrate the results of the focus on access rather than behaviors within the schools themselves. Each school's experience is unique because of the unique character of each community. Each has faced the challenge of developing some type of organizational response to a new situation which embodies diversity rather than homogeneity — the common element for all. By and large, as most of the papers indicate, the organization has responded to this situation by attempting to maintain, to the greatest degree possible, the behaviors and structures which already existed and shifting responsibility for dealing with new factors within the situation to the individual organization member: student, teacher, administrator.

Scherer and Slawski discuss the individual coping strategies made necessary by the organization's lack of guidance. Clement and Livesay show that denial of race as a salient factor in school situations was a common response to the desegregated setting. For lower class black students, the focus of Noblit and Collins' attention, the traditional sorting mechanisms of the school responded to both race and class, promoting alienation. The new situation had not altered the school's assumptions about the performance and capabilities of black students. Sagar and Schofield were unable to find any examples of their ideal school type, "integrated pluralism," in the five schools studied.

The evidence of these studies suggests that concentration on access mechanisms has not had a strong effect on the educational procedures within the school in terms of innovative approaches to a new situation. The papers make clear that there is no accepted understanding of what a desegregated school is, beyond the standard of numbers and proportions, and in most cases there is no effort to define it beyond these criteria. Past these measurable elements, the definitions become entangled in the questions of what a school is supposed to be.

Resegregation

Another common theme which emerges from the papers is the extent to which the desegregated schools have become internally re-segregated. Influences from the community, organizational procedures and expectations, and individual behaviors all appear to contribute to this process.

Both Sullivan (18) and Sagar and Schofield (74) comment briefly on the most elementary form of resegregation which (as they note) is not something which the studies observed directly: the withdrawal of whites from the community and from the school attendance area. In many communities, this is a factor affecting the composition of the total school population and the steady drop in the number of families with school-age children residing in the district creates increasing problems in conforming to the required numerical proportions within the schools' populations.

A second type of withdrawal of whites which promotes resegregation also noted in these papers and directly observed in some of the schools studied is withdrawal of white students to private schools. Desire to retain white students in the student body was the rationale for several types of practices in some of the observed schools which had consequences for other types of resegregation. Both withdrawal of families from the community and withdrawal of students into private facilities are beyond the capability of the public school to control. They form a community context which works against any definition of desegregation in public schools which involves increased inter-group contact and understanding, although they are neutral toward desegregation defined as access.

Within the schools, organizational policies and procedures also contribute to resegregation. Several of the papers (Noblit and Collins, Clement and Livesay, Sagar and Schofield) discuss the effects of tracking and academic ability grouping in inter-group relations. It appears to be one of the most significant factors in establishing and maintaining divisions between groups. It is difficult to deal with at the secondary level of education when more alternatives become available to students relating to post-school expectations. Scheduling alone becomes difficult to manage as Noblit and Collins describe (59). Tracking and grouping can be supported on grounds which have no apparent relationship to segregation, dealing with individualized attention, maximum opportunity and other education-oriented concerns. The divisions these sorting procedures establish extend beyond the specific classes or subjects in which grouping occurs because of problems of scheduling, and the difference in the speed of progress and levels of materials presented in the various tracks or groups essentially assures that students will not be able to advance from slower to faster tracks. The sorting mechanisms encourage downward, rather than upward mobility.

Tracking can be used, however, for ends which are not strictly academic. Motivation, response to stereotyped expectations, punishment are all involved in examples of tracking noted by fieldworkers. Sagar and Schofield cite two examples: Daniel whose advancement to a higher group was seen as encouragement to higher accomplishments (81) and Debbie, whose placement in a lower group was seen as punishment for unacceptable behavior (81).

The papers indicate that black students are proportionately more likely to be in the less-advanced classes and tracks while advanced classes are more likely to be heavily white in population. Noblit and Collins suggest some of the forces which discourage black students from pursuing advanced classes. The discussions of Crossover High School also indicate that black students coming from previously all-black schools found their academic preparation was not as good as that of their white classmates. For whatever reasons — actual discrimination, inadequate preparation, cultural and social expectations, peer pressures — black students are more likely to be in less advanced tracks than more advanced ones, and the existence of these sorting mechanisms contributes to the resegregation of students within the desegregated school. The two schools which made de-emphasis of grouping a matter of policy (Wexler and Grandin) were seen by researchers as the schools most likely to offer opportunities for inter-group activities.

Organizational tolerance for the establishment of racial domination in school activities such as certain sports, clubs, etc., and for the development of group turf, such as exists at Sheridan High School, also supports resegregation within the school itself. Several schools offered examples of activities dominated by one racial group or the other, and authors commented on the fact that when one group became the apparent majority in an activity, the other simply withdrew from participation; it appears to be a "zero-sum" proposition. In one school where a balance between groups was for a time maintained as a matter of organization policy, the balance was lost as soon as the policy was discarded.

The studies do not claim that one group deliberately drives out the other in these situations. Observations indicate that it is more a matter of informal, individual choice. The experience of the one white member of the Pawnee High School basketball team suggests that it is possible for individuals to maintain membership in groups which interest them, even if they are not members of the dominant group. Clement and Livesay see "cooperative encounters" where members of different groups cooperate on tasks of mutual interest as a positive force for increasing inter-group contact. Formal or informal organizational support for the domination of one group or another in an activity or location in the school contributes to the potential for resegregation.

Individual behavior is also a factor in resegregation, most strongly at the secondary school level where more situations of choice are available to students in both classes and activities. As the papers point out, given a choice, most students will choose to associate with other students like themselves. Segregated residential patterns reduce the opportunities for inter-group friendships to develop outside the school boundaries. Stereotypes and community tensions affect children as well as adults. A few students may seek out friends in other groups; Scherer and Slawski note that one coping strategy available to individuals is the development of a "special friend" from the different group. But as Clement and Livesay point out (42), casual acquaintances and "stereotypical encounters" are the more common pattern in student relationships.

There is no generally accepted view that the main goal of desegregated schools is to foster close friendships between members of different racial and ethnic groups. Development of mutual understanding and the ability to cooperate around tasks of mutual concern is the more commonly-accepted goal; Sagar and Schofield (87) quote Cohen on the appropriate criteria of desegregation as "a reasonable degree of social integration and a lack of overt conflict" which allows completion of "the task at hand." The view of desegregation as access gives no guidance about the development of any kind of inter-group relations. The evidence of the papers supports the view that the promotion of better inter-group relations is not a clear directive for the desegregated schools. The combination of external influences, school policies and student behaviors promote the resegregation of the internal school environment, lacking any directive to the contrary.

The Priority of Order

The papers that deal with the internal functioning of the desegregated school all indicate that maintaining order and avoiding conflict have high priority both for the organization and its individual members as well as for the community. Given the level of tension and hostility which surrounds the question of desegregated schools at the national level and the situations in some of the study communities, it is a realistic concern. In spite of the fact that researchers noted no instances of serious conflict or violence in the schools studied, the possibility was clearly of great concern to students, teachers, administrators and community groups. This possibility is underlined by Noblit and Collins' perception that the potential for disruption and disorder was one of the few sources of power for lower class black students within the school organization. The physical mixing of different racial groups within the same school building without violence or serious conflict was truly an accomplishment in several of the schools.

A concern for order and the avoidance of conflict also has the advantage of being a focus for policy and program which cannot be questioned. Clement and Livesay note the use of the "rhetoric of concern" (44) as a major policy standard in at least one school. In light of the differing definitions of desegregation and the differing community expectations for the process, avoiding conflict is a goal which can attract support from all sides. It has, therefore, achieved greater prominence as an educational priority under desegregation, and this has had consequences for school program. Scherer and Slawski see it in terms of a general shift from normative compliance, where the school population obeyed rules because they shared the underlying values, to coercive compliance, where the school population obeys rules because they wish to avoid punishment. Some of the consequences of an emphasis on order and conflict avoidance have led to increased control over student movement, and a consequent reduction in opportunities for inter-group contact and interaction.

Clement and Livesay describe one form of conflict avoidance as "color blind" where, in order to prevent any possibility of racial confrontation, the mention of race in any school context is prevented by both formal and informal sanctions, to the extent that children will not include color in a physical description of another child unless assured that it is acceptable to do so. Several authors note that conflict avoidance extends to avoidance of the school and its program, ranging in style from refusing to participate in class (sleeping, head on desk, etc.) to skipping class. Denial of the existence of diversity or withdrawal from the situation does not provide an atmosphere in which whatever problems are associated with inter-group relations in the school can be dealt with constructively.

Organizational Reaction

The values which the schools espouse, and which underlie much of what is taught there, are essentially class-related rather than race-related. The organizational reaction to desegregation, as illustrated by the schools studied, may be summarized as an effort to maintain these traditional values and pass them on to a clientele which, increasingly, holds other values which do not always harmonize with those of the school. Scherer and Slawski represent this in the shift from normative to coercive authority which assumes that increasing numbers of clients will not respond to the norms of the organization and must, therefore, be compelled to comply with organizational requirements by other means. Sagar and Schofield describe it as the "assimilationist" perspective which assumes that all participants must be adjusted to the standards of one group.

Noblit and Collins show a clear picture of this clash of values in their description of the ways in which lower class black students are alienated from the school organization and the efforts which these students make to maintain their values in the face of what they perceive as constant attack on them. The authors note that this attack is as much a question of class as race, perhaps more, but it is not so interpreted by the students who equate the required middle class behavior as "acting white" and see efforts on the part of aspiring blacks to display these behaviors as a betrayal of the race. Sagar and Schofield note that the school has always sorted on the basis of class, and the fact that black students are more likely to come from lower class rather than middle class backgrounds makes sorting mechanisms *de facto* discriminatory. The students' perception of sorting as totally oriented to ethnic identity simply increases their alienation. The schools, however, continue to pursue the traditional procedures.

The schools' efforts to maintain their existing educational activities and procedures to the greatest degree possible with their new populations have led to varying specifics of behavior. Clement and Livesay see these behaviors as ranging along a continuum from denial of race as a factor of significance to public recognition of racial-ethnic groups in the organization of activities and territory. All give priority to conflict avoidance although the methods through which this end is sought vary depending on the school's view of race as something to be denied or acknowledged. Innovative behavior or programming to promote better inter-racial relations or increase inter-group understanding has not been widespread. As noted earlier, two schools have made efforts to de-emphasize tracking and grouping. Several individual examples of imaginative teaching approaches and teacher efforts to recognize that the presence of diverse groups in the same educational program might present special problems are cited, as is the special effort to "make it work" in the first year of the desegregation program at one high school. But these appear to be the exceptions and examples are also offered of teacher fear and-or reluctance to deal with the question of inter-group dealings and problems. As one paper notes, teachers declare their inability to cope with the sensitive issues of racial differences in the classroom without some special preparation but show no special eagerness to receive such training. In the one school situation where such training was offered, teachers did not appear to demonstrate much enthusiasm for it. The general reaction of the schools in this situation can be described in Sagar and Schofield's term "business as usual."

Individual Response

Given that the organization response to desegregation has been "business as usual" as much as possible, the responsibility of dealing with the special opportunities or problems which the desegregated school situation presents has become, as several authors point out, the responsibility of the individual student or teacher, situation by situation. Successes and failures are to be treated as individual, not organizational concerns. Any signals given by the organization to suggest appropriate ways for individuals to handle new or unfamiliar situations are mixed. They range from denial of race as a matter of importance to tacit acceptance of racial domination of activities and-or locations.

Signals from the wider community also vary as several authors have shown. While the organization and the community may give off conflicting signals about the meaning of happenings, they do not offer any direct guidance or help in the development of ways to deal with problems for students or teachers, such as the training opportunities and teaching methods suggested by Sagar and Schofield. There is no strong indication that individuals in the schools are seeking such help, either, and some indications that some, at least, might resist it.

The combination of organizational "business as usual" and placement of responsibility on the individual for handling problem situations has led to the development of individual behaviors (Scherer and Slawski's "coping strategies") which are aimed, for the most part, at protecting the individual and complying with traditional school procedures as much as possible. Although Scherer and Slawski detail some active, positive response to the new situation on the part of the school community ("making it work"), the majority of the strategies they discuss aim at keeping things going with making trouble. Whether the authority structure be normative or coercive, the focus of most coping strategies is maintaining some degree of organizational participation and avoiding conflict.

Clement and Livesay, in their discussion of encounters and representations, also demonstrate that the bulk of both are directed at maintaining the operation of the organization while keeping the individual out of conflict situations. Only a few members of either group involved are able to risk the development of "deeper friendship" relations with their highest potential for the development of conflicts.

Another consequence of making the individual responsible for handling problems in the desegregated school is that even when his or her responses are counter-productive in terms of educational accomplishment, as in the case of Noblit and Collins' lower class black students, the organization has no alternatives or guidance to offer. Since the problem is the individual's problem, the failure to solve it is the individual's failure. In this way, problems within the school cannot contribute to pressure on the organization for solutions.

Ethnographic Methods

As a group, the papers in this volume demonstrate the capability of the ethnographic method as a tool of policy research. Several authors discuss directly the need to inform policy decisions with the type of understanding which results from this approach to a complex social situation. Each paper's perspective, dealing as it does with a different conceptual model, permits an exploration of the interaction of forces involved in the situation of desegregation in the schools from points which relate to different aspects of policy making.

Sullivan's focus on the community aspects of desegregation in the schools, and the different outcomes of different combinations of political, economic and social factors, offers guidance for the application of different approaches in different communities. For example, he notes how quality of education and employment opportunity generated different amounts of minority concern, depending on the historical role of the school for the minority community and the economic and political configuration of the city. The school as an agency for transmission of social and cultural values is particularly sensitive to influences in the community as a whole; as Scherer and Slawski noted, a policy paralysis in dealing with desegregation beyond the mechanisms of legal compliance resulted in the schools because of the different meanings and significance of the event to various elements in the community. Sullivan suggests how characteristics of the community and the processes of interest group interaction and negotiation are important for the development of educational policy, planned or unplanned.

If Sullivan suggests the relevance of community characteristics and processes to policy development, those papers dealing with the internal functioning of the school organization indicate the need to consider the inter-relatedness of the organizational parts. Policy expressed in terms of only one aspect of the organization — as court-ordered desegregation was expressed in terms of composition of the population of students and staff — has consequences for other aspects of the organization's functioning. Without an understanding of how those aspects are related, policy makers cannot be assured that the actions they have recommended will have the results they desire. One of the problems with dependence on the results of quantitative research alone as the informer of policy is that all variables necessary to, and existing in, a situation must be known before the research is undertaken in order to formulate the research questions properly. Noblit and Collins (70) discuss the significance of this requirement for the structure of the quantitative research design and the policy situation. The ethnographic approach does not assume such a degree of advance knowledge about the social situation in question, but looks for relevant variables to become apparent as the social processes are observed and recorded. The ethnographer's perception of what is going on is rooted in observations of behaviors; the positivist perception is rooted in theory as applied to the social scene. A combination of the two perspectives would offer policy makers the maximum opportunity to understand the complexities of any social situation which requires some kind of action for change.

In Conclusion

In addition, then, to their individual insights, the papers in this volume as a group offer an opportunity to increase public understanding of the social complexity of school desegregation. They indicate that the public ambivalence about the proper function of public education, and controversy and conflict about the meaning of desegregation, have limited the schools' approach to the creation of desegregated educational opportunities to matters of access — access to schools for the students, access to jobs for the staff. The nature of the situation created by mixing two previously separate groups, and any problems related to that mixing, are seen differently in different schools, conditioned by the circumstances and expectations of their communities. There is no commonly accepted understanding of what, if anything, is or should be different about a desegregated school and what are the appropriate behaviors for its participants.

The papers also illustrate that the responses, both of school organizations and individual participants in the schools studied, are directed more at maintaining existing understandings about the functioning of the school and avoiding conflict than at exploring any new opportunities which the desegregated school environment might offer. Safety and avoidance of conflict are high priorities in school operation and in individual strategies, both because of the actual potential for violence and conflict in the situation and because preservation of order is a goal that all participants can support.

The results of these responses have been the placement of responsibility for managing interracial environment on the individual instead of on the organization, and a high amount of voluntary and involuntary resegregation within the walls of the school itself. "Getting along," avoidance, denial and withdrawal have been the most frequent responses, allowing the individual to remain within the organization while avoiding the possibility for conflict.

It must be remembered that the schools included in these studies see themselves and are seen by their communities and by others as successful instances of desegregation. Their experiences are models for other schools and suggest the limits of what can be accomplished under present policies and definitions. The ethnographic approach can offer direction for development of new policies and programs as it reveals the complexity of the factors involved in this social situation.

Appendix

Research Teams and Final Reports

In 1975, the National Institute of Education contracted with a number of research teams to conduct ethnographic studies of desegregated schools over a period of about two years. During 1978, the following five final reports were submitted:

The Emerging Order: An Ethnography of a Southern Desegregated School, by Dorothy C. Clement, Margaret Eisenhart, Joe R. Harding, with Michael Livesay (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina)

Stratification and Resegregation: The Case of Crossover High School, Memphis, Tennessee, by Thomas W. Collins and George W. Noblit (Memphis, TE: Memphis State University)

A Field Study of Culture Contact and Desegregation in an Urban High School, by Francis A.J. Ianni, Mercer Lee Sullivan, Margaret Orr, Samuel Henry, and John Mavros (New York, NY: Horace Mann—Lincoln Institute, Teachers College, Columbia University)

Hard Walls — Soft Walls: The Social Ecology of an Urban Desegregated High School, by Jacqueline Scherer (Rochester, MI: Oakland University) and Edward J. Slawski, Jr.

Social Process and Peer Relations in a "Nearly Integrated" Middle School, by Janet Ward Schofield with H. Andrew Sagar (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh).

In addition to these final reports there was an interim report from the team headed by Julie Stulac, which had been organizationally located in the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development.

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